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SHALL AND WILL.

A reprehensible popular inaccuracy—commencing in this country, I believe, at the South or among the Irish, but lately making very alarming progress northward, and through almost all classes of the community—is threatening to wipe out in the first persons of our futures the distinction between the two auxiliaries *shall* and *will*, casting away the former, and putting the latter in its place. The Southerner says: "It is certain that we *will* fail," "I *would* try in vain to thank you." To say *I shall* in circumstances where we should say *he will*, to put *we should* where good usage would require *they would*, seems to these people, who have never investigated either the history or the philosophy of the difference of the phraseology in the two persons, an inconsistency which may and should be avoided. The matter, however, is one which implies a violation not only of good English usage, but also of sound etymological morality: *shall* originally and properly contains the idea of duty, and *will* that of resolve; and to disregard obligation in the laying out of future action, making arbitrary resolve the sole guide, is a lesson which the community ought not to learn from any section or class, in language, any more than in political and social conduct.

EXAMPLES OF ETYMOLOGIES.

Sometimes we find at the basis of a word a mere blunder of philosophy, as when we talk about *lunatics*, as if we still believed the aberration of their wits to depend upon the devious motions of the moon (*luna*); or a blunder of natural history, as when we call our own native American feathered biped a *turkey*, in servile imitation of that ill-informed generation of Englishmen, which, not knowing whence he came, but surmising that it might probably enough be Turkey, dubbed him "the Turkey fowl;" or a blunder of geography, as when we style our aborigines *Indians*, be-

cause the early discoverers of this Continent set their faces westward from Europe to find India, and thought at first that they had found it. *Copper*, the *magnet*, *parciment*, commemorate for us the countries Cyprus, Magnesia, and Pergamos, whence those substances were first brought to the founders of our civilization. *Manumit*, like *candidate*, owes its existence to a peculiar Roman custom—of dismissing, namely, with a slap of the hand a slave made free. *Money* and *mint* (two different forms of the same original, *moneta*, the one coming from the French *monnaie*, the other from the Anglo-Saxon *mynet*) tell of Roman superstition and Roman convenience. Within the imperial city was raised a temple to Juno *Moneta*, “Juno the *Monisher*,” in recognition of the supernatural *monitions* the goddess had given them in certain crises of their history; and in this temple, as it chanced, was set up the first stamp and die for coining money. We say *calculate*, because the early Romans reckoned by the aid of little pebbles (*calculi*). We call a truckling and unscrupulous parasite a *sycophant*, because it once pleased the men of Athens to pass a law forbidding the exportation of figs from Attica; which, as is apt to be the case with such laws, was little more than a dead letter; while yet there were found in the community certain mean fellows who sought to gain their selfish ends by blabbing, or threatening to blab, of those who violated it (*sukophantes*), “fig-blabber.” We put on a “pair of *rubbers*,” because, when that most multifariously valuable substance, caoutchouc, was first brought to us, we could find for it no better use than the *rubbing* out of pencil-marks.

THE RIG-VEDA.

The earliest portions of the oldest collection of the Vedic dialect, the Rig-Veda (“Veda of hymns”) must, it is believed, date from nearly or quite two thousand years before Christ. The considerations from which this age is deduced for them are of a general and inexact character, yet tolerably clear in their indications. Thus, for example, the hymns of the Vedas were chiefly composed on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries, when the great valley of the Ganges was as yet unknown to the Aryan immigrants; and they present the elephant as still a wondered-at and little-known animal: while the earliest tidings of India, which we have from without, show us great kingdoms on the Ganges, and the elephant reduced to the service of man, both in war and in peace.

PECULIARITIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

A very peculiar feature of the phonetic structure of some of the best-known South African languages, especially of the Kaffir branch (including the Zulu), is the use, as consonants, of the sounds called *clicks*, made by separating the tongue sharply from the roof of the mouth, with accompanying suction—sounds which we employ only in talking to horses or in amusing babies. As many as four of these clicks form in some dialect a regular part of the consonantal system, each being subject to variation by utterance simultaneously with other sounds, guttural or nasal. It is not a little remarkable that the clicks also abound in the tongues of that isolated branch of the Hamitic family, the Hottentot and Bushman, which is shut in among the South African dialects: indeed, they are conjectured to be of Hottentot origin, and caught by the other tribes by imitation, since they are found only in those members of the different South African branches which are neighbours of the Hottentots.

POSITION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

If the English is not entitled to all the exaggerated encomiums which are sometimes heaped upon it, if it has no right to be set at the head of all languages, living or extinct, it is at least worthy of all our love and admiration, and will not be found unequal to anything which the future shall require of it—even should circumstances make it the leading tongue of civilized humanity. For what it is to become, every individual who employs it shares in the responsibility. The character of a language is not determined by the rules of grammarians and lexicographers, but by the usage of the community, by the voice and opinion of speakers and hearers; and this works most naturally and effectively when it works most unconsciously. Clear and manly thought, and direct and unaffected expression, every writer and speaker can aim at; and, by so doing, can perform his part in the perfecting of his mother tongue.

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OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Contributions towards a Glossary of the Assyrian Language.
BY H. F. TALBOT.

PART II.

140. **Guza.** 𐎠-𐎵 𐎶, a Throne.—Very frequent in the inscriptions. It always has the sign 𐎶, the determinative of “wooden objects,” prefixed to it. I believe it to be a mere dialectic variation of the Hebrew 𐤍𐤐𐤔 solium regium (etiam Dei.—Jerem. iii. 17). In *shurraṭ sarti-ya, sha as guza sarti rabish usibu*; *In the beginning of my reign, when I sat proudly on my royal throne.*—Obel. line 22. *Izpa u guza likim-su*; *Sceptre and throne may they take from him.*—R 42, 73. *Guza abi-su*; *his father's throne.*—2 R 38, 32. *Guza billuti*; *throne of power.*—R 39, 9. *Guza nimidi*; *a palanquin.*—R 39, 36.

141. **Izpa.** 𐎶 𐎶, Sceptre.—I think that the syllable 𐎶 *iz* was sounded in this word, because it is also written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *isshapa*. And I think that the sign for “wood” 𐎶 was purposely omitted because the word itself began with that sign, so that it was present by implication. *Nabo nasi izpa illuti*; *Nabo who carries the golden sceptre.*—Obel. line 11. *Tamikh izpa*; *holder of the sceptre.*—R 14, 56. *Izpa isarti*; *the sceptre of justice.*—B.M. 38. 5. *Isshapa isarti usatmikh gatu-ya*; *he hath caused my hand to hold the sceptre of justice.*—E.I.H. i. 45. *Sha idinnam isshapa isarti*; *who has given me the sceptre of justice.*—E.I.H. iv. 19.

142. **Agu.** 𐎶 𐎠-𐎶 𐎠, a Crown; *pl.* Agie, 𐎶 𐎠-𐎶 𐎠 = 𐎶.—
 Agu raba sha reshdu-sha; *the great crown upon her head.*—
 Slab K, 162. In 2 R 25, 23 and 44, 31, 𐎶 𐎠-𐎶 = 𐎶 = is
 explained by 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *mir*, which is known to mean “a crown.”
Examples of the plural:—Agie belluti; *crowns of royalty.*—
 R 8, No. 6, line 11. Nadin izpa u agie; *giver of sceptres and*
crowns.—Tig. i. 2.

In 2 R 38, 52 the images of Marduk and Zarpanita are adorned by the king with crowns of royalty (*agie billuti*) and crowns with lofty peaks? (*agie garni tsirati*).

143. **Agû.** 𐎶 𐎠-𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, a Crown.—This word is the same as the last; a mere change in the fashion of spelling in the time of Ashurbanipal. It occurs in a very curious passage in 2 R 38, 45, a prayer for the king's happiness: “Sha sar agû (*of the lord of the crown*), tami-su lu-ar(ka), (*may the days be long!*) shanati-su lirika, (*may his years be prolonged!*) bul-su as tuki lu-bullul, (*may he live his life in happiness!*) tsirrit shamie rapsuti libbita-su,—*the summit of high heaven may he behold (it)!* Sabita (*the seventh*) [the rest is lost or uncertain].” This remarkable passage evidently refers to a future life in heaven reserved for the king. For, having prayed for earthly felicity and length of life, the scribe now speaks of heaven; therefore no doubt he is asking for a heavenly life.

After the word *Sabita* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *the seventh*, the tablet is broken; which is a pity, as perhaps the scribe was about to speak of “the seventh heaven.”

Some words in the above require explanation. *Arka*, Heb. ארך longus; *li-rika*, Heb. רחוק and Assyrian *ruku* longinquus, remotus. “Years” is written as usual 𐎶 𐎠-𐎶 𐎠 *Mu*, with a plural sign: this P.C. word I have replaced by *shanati*. *Libbita*, written 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, is from the Heb. נבט to behold, of which the future is יבט and the imperative הבט (Furst's Lex. 897); from which we

get the optative *libit*. The verb means "to behold," with the accusative following.—Job xxiv. 5, Genesis xv. 5. The passage of Genesis illustrates and remarkably confirms the explanation which I have given: "Look now toward heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be!" **הבט-נא השמימה** look now toward heaven! Here the verb is used exactly as in the Assyrian writing—of looking up to heaven. Hebrew: Ebit ha shamima! *behold the heavens!* Assyrian, in the optative: (l)ibbita shamie! *may he behold the heavens!* And also in the fine passage in Job xxxv. 5: "Look unto the heavens and see; and behold the clouds which are higher than thou!" the verb employed is **הבט** as before.

144. **Aga.** A King.—Derived from *Agu* (see preceding articles). *Aga nu-bila; king everlasting* (epithet of Marduk in R70).

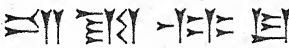
145. **Kudur.** **𒌷 𒌷 𒌷**, a Crown, or some kind of royal head-dress.—This word was altered by the Greeks into *Kıdapis*, which is explained by Liddell and Scott as a Persian head-dress, probably the same as the royal *Tiapa*.

Kudur as *reshdu-ya assim*, *I placed the "Kudur" on my head; usassab ramani, and I seated myself*.—Bl. Stone of Esarhaddon, R50, col. iv. 10. *Assim* from the Heb. *sim* **שׂם** ponere.


146. **Sakkanakku.** **𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪**, the High Priest (only at Babylon).—This word is derived in my opinion from **סגן** *sagan* (a priest) and *ukku* (great), making *sagan-ukku*, the high priest. **סגן** is only used in the Bible during and after the Babylonian captivity. It is clearly a Babylonian word. Daniel was appointed by the King of Babylon *rab saganin* or chief *sagan*. In that capacity he had rule "over all the wise men of Babylon."—Dan. ii. 48.









Ukku is a Scythian or Median and probably also Proto-Chaldæan word, meaning "great" (Norris's Scythian Glossary, p. 181, in Journ. R. A. S., Vol. xv.). Moreover the capital city of Maniah, "king of the rebellious Dahæ," was called




Ukku (R40, 3). But the Dahæ were a Median or Seythian race, and *ukku* only meant the "great city" of that kingdom. In line 13 we read "He fled from Ukku his royal city and went to a great distance from it. I took and destroyed the city of Ukku and carried off its spoil."

147. **Ishakku.** , a Priest.—R 52, 6 ; and in the Birs Nim. inscr., R 51, 3.




Ishakku tsiri, the *high priest*. I think it probable that the termination *akku* meant "great," as in *Sakkanakku* (see last article).

In Heb.  is *senex* = *πρεσβυτερος presbyter*. I do not find it used for *priest*. It may have been so, however, in Babylonian. If so, it was perhaps the root of *Ish-akku*, or *Ishakku*.

148. **Imga.** , a Priest, of the order of Magi.—The father of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, was a priest of high rank, who bore the title of   <    Rubu Imga, which is also written  Imga, where  is a monogram for Rubu.

See the inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 in R, plate 68. The first letter  is sometimes omitted, and the word is spelt   Im-ga.

This personage, the father of Nabonidus, was the Rab Mag mentioned in Jeremiah xxxix. 3, who entered Jerusalem in triumph, along with many other princes of Babylon, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar. If not the same, at any rate he bore the same title and rank. Imga mutninnu, *most liberal high priest*, is a title of Nebuchadnezzar in R 52, 11. Muda imga occurs in the Birs N. inscr., R 51, 4.

149. **Mutninnu.** , Generous, Liberal, full of Gifts.—Imga mutninnu, R 52, 11, a title of Nebuchadnezzar; see last article. Ashri kansu mutninnu, R 51, line 2 of the Senk. inscr.—here the word is spelt as before, except  in the place of .

From the Chald. *mutnin* מתן gifts, plural of מתנא. *Ex.*, Daniel ii. 48, "Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him *many great gifts*." מתן רברבן *mutnin rabrabin*.

Another form of the word is מתן *donum*; whence a generous man is called איש מתן. All from the root תן or נתן to give.

Another title given to Nebuchadnezzar on account of his great generosity, "mustihu baladam," *dispenser of gifts*, will be considered in the next article.

150. **Balat.** 𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏, a Gift.—Also written *Balada* and *Balathu*. See Art. 36. That article requires correction. In 2 R66, Part 2, we read: "O Beltis, I have built for thee a splendid temple and altar. Grant me in return for it a long life!" Grant! is expressed by the word *tin* 𐤏𐤍, which is exactly the Hebrew תן *tin* (give!), the imperative of *natan* נתן to give, which drops the *n* in the tenses, like most other verbs which begin with that letter. *Ex.*, תן לחכם "give to a wise man!" Proverbs ix. 9. But instead of *tin*, another tablet in the British Museum has *balat* 𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏 in this passage, although the rest of the inscription is the same in both tablets. Hence we perceive that *balat* is a verb, in the imperative mood, meaning *give!* or *grant!*

At first this may seem surprising, if not doubtful, but if we examine we find other proofs that *balat* meant a grant or gift. Thus in Phill. i. 4, Nebuchadnezzar, among other titles of excellence which he assumes, calls himself Mustihu baladam, *giver of gifts*; and this corresponds exceedingly well with his boast in another inscription (R52, 11), that he was *Imga mutninnu*, "the generous high priest" (see No. 149). Hence in Senk. ii. 18, we should translate *balat tamî rukuti*, "the gift of a long life" (here the other cylinder reads *balathu*). And in Birs N. ii. 20, *baladam dara* is "the gift of long time."

That 𐤏𐤍 *tin* is equivalent to *balat* or *balathu* is further

proved by No. 152 of the Syllabary (quoted by Norris, p. 97):

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, which means that 𐎶𐎵𐎶 was sounded *ti-in* (i.e. *tin*), and its meaning is the same as *balathu*.

Another and very remarkable example of the word *balat*, "a gift," occurs in the E.I.H. col. 2, line 1: *Sha baladi-ya lu-tippish, when I had made my offering* [at the shrine of Marduk]. The verb here employed, *ebus* (fecit), becomes in the *t* conjugation *etibus* (fecit). And the preter-perfect tense is *etibbus*, *etippish*, &c. (feceram).

𐎶𐎵 *Balat*, a gift, must be distinguished from 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *balat*, "life," which occurs in the next article, with the variant reading 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 *bullat*.

151. **Akhadat.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Some.—Agrees with the Heb. אִנּוּן *unus*. So the Greeks say *Εἷνοι* "some," derived from *ἓν* "one." And in French, *les uns* "some;" *ex. gr.*, *les uns* dissent, *some say*. It is strange that the Lexicons do not give this easy and natural etymology of the word *Εἷνοι*, especially as the analogy of the German is so strong; *viz.*, plur. *einige*, "some." The German has likewise the singular, which the Greek has not, *ex. gr.*, *Er hatte einiges geld*, "he had *some* money."

Akhadat was first explained I believe by Norris (dict. p. 26): "The rebels came to me, and embraced my feet. Some of them I slew; some of them I pardoned (or let live); some of them I expelled from the place." *Akhadat duku*; *akhadat bullat*; *akhadat shazibkani ebus*.—R19, 81. The words are 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *duku*, I slew; 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *balat*, I let live (with a variant reading 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 *bullat*). 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *shazibkani*, expelled, driven away. The last word is derived from *shazib* שׂוֹבֵר *eripere*, *eruere* [homines]; to remove forcibly, expel, root out. Runaways or exiles were called *mushazib* מוֹשָׁבִים.—Buxtorf, p. 2358.

𐎶𐎵 The letter 𐎶𐎵𐎶 is very frequently *Zib*. Its other value is *Lzb*,

152. **Bulthut.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫, Alive.—A good example of this word will be found in R 14, 75: “Ten (*buffaloes?*) I slew; four I took alive (*bulthut*). Their skins and their horns, together with the live buffaloes (*bulthut*) to my city Ashur I brought home.”—Diku u bulthu, *killed and taken alive*.—Beh. line 83, in the account of a battle. The root is 𐎲𐎠𐎫 bul, *life*.

𐎲𐎠𐎫 *Bulthut* is the participle of the verb *Bullith*, “to give life,” which occurs in 2 R 36, 17.

153. **Isinati.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫, otherwise written 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫, Religious Festivals.

Isinati-su as arkhi 𐎲𐎠𐎫 u arkhi 𐎲𐎠𐎫 lu-ashkun; *I fixed his annual festivals in the 11th month Sebat and in the 6th month Elul (January and August)*.—R 23, 134. This is said of the god Ninev.

Another example is found in Phill. iii. 7. The King honors Nebo and Marduk, and says that he has appointed “*isinati-sun damgati*,” *their holy festival days*; “*hakit-zun rabi*,” *and their great solemnities*. The word *hakit* is the plural of 𐎲𐎠𐎫 *hay*, which in Assyrian as in Hebrew signifies a religious festival, and also the victim there sacrificed.

154. **Nimidi.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫 𐎲𐎠𐎫. The *guza nimidi* was the king's travelling Palanquin (see No. 140). I believe no etymology has yet been offered of this word. I will, therefore, suggest that it comes from the Hebrew 𐤍𐤍 *num*, to sleep. The great distances the monarch had to travel when he accompanied his army on foreign expeditions must have rendered some *lectica* necessary, on which he could sleep, or at any rate repose at full length. This view of the word *nimidi* is, I think, confirmed by the verbal gloss in 2 R 24, 20, where *mazzar nimdi* is rendered *iskibbu* (*lectica*, *cubile*, *lectus*), from Hebrew 𐤏𐤁𐤁 *cubare*, *dormire*. A similar substantive, *askup* or *askupat*, is used for a flat stone *lying down* and covering an object. So we say in English “the *sleepers* of a railway.”

In Opp. Khors. 131, among other articles of plunder are enumerated a *Guza* of gold, a *Nimatti* of gold, a *Sceptre* of gold, &c. (in that order). This *nimatti* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 may be the same as the *guza nimidi*, since it is mentioned immediately after the *guza*.

155. **Ikribi.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Prayers, accompanied by Sacrifices.—Ashur ikribi-su ishimmi; *Ashur will hear his prayers*.—Inscr. of Bellino, last line. In the invocation to Beltis, 2 R 66, 7, that goddess has the title *Shamat ikribi*, “she who hears our prayers.” *Shamat* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is the feminine participle of Heb. שמע to hear. Many other female participles occur in that inscription.

The singular *ikribu* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 is explained in a bilingual list in 2 R 31, 24, by the monogram 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, which means a sacrifice. The same word is found in the Heb. הקריב *ekrib*, fut. יקריב *ikrib*, which is the Hiphil of קרב, and means to sacrifice.—Furst, p. 1255. The substantive formed from it is קרבן *korban*, a sacrifice; a word well known to the English reader from its occurrence in Mark vii. 11, where it is taken in a wider sense.

156. **Mir.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, a Crown.—The version which I have given (see Trans. R.S.L., Vol. 8, p. 244) of the tablet K, 162, concerning the jewels of the goddess Ishtar, has been considerably improved by a correction made by Mr. Norris, p. 355. It will now commence thus:

1. The first time I deprived her of an ornament,
2. Was taken off the great Crown upon her head.

The Assyrian has *Mir raba sha reshdu-sha*.

When the jewels are restored, this one has a different name—*Agu raba sha reshdu-sha*. But *Agu* means a crown (see No. 142); therefore *Mir* also means a crown. The version gains very much by this, for assuredly the *Crown* of the goddess was her principal glory, and (in my version) it was not found anywhere. But now we find it, and on her head. The proof

which Norris gives is from the bilingual lists in 2 R 25, 23, and 44, 31—𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 rendered 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. That is, *Mir* in P.C. is *Agu* in Assyrian. But *Agu* means a crown.

Having thus established that the *Mir* worn by the goddess was her *crown*, let us consider what is the origin of the word? It is, I think almost indubitable that it is the Persian *Mitra* or Crown, which was very much ornamented with divers colours, as we see by this line of Theocritus (xvii. 19):

Περσαισι βαρυς θεος αιολομित्रαις.

Herodotus says (i. 195) "The Babylonians wear mitres on their heads"—*τας κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδεδυνται*.

In Cyprus only the kings wore mitres (Herod. vii. 90). This is sufficient to show that it was a head-dress of honour.














The *mir raba* of the goddess may have been a jewelled mitre. The *μίτρη* was worn in Asia by women as well as men, else it would not have been adopted by the Greek women,



πεπλοὶ ποδῆρεις, ἐπὶ καρτὶ δέσται ΜΙΤΡΑ.

(description of Pentheus disguised as a woman.)—Eur. Bacch. 831.

















In common conversation *Mitra* would easily be contracted into *Mir*, just as *pater* became *père*; *mater*, *mère*; and *frater*, *frère*. A closer instance is seen in the name of the god *Mithra*: Persian, *Mīhr*, the Sun.











157. Nu-tarda. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. A Proto-Chaldean word, which probably means "a man without authority," "an ordinary person," "a poor man."—It is put in contrast with *aklu*, a man of rank, which is the Hebrew יכל *potens*. This P.C. word designates a class of men in some of the Michaux inscriptions in the British Museum. It occurs again on tablet 169, where *Tarda* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 is explained by the Assyrian word *Dinu* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, which I consider to be the Hebrew אדון, Adon=lord, signor, seigneur; or to be at any rate derived from the same root with אדון, which is also cognate with דין to rule (regere, moderari, imperare.—*Gesen.*).

In the next line of tablet 169 we find our word *Nu-tarda*    explained by         *val dinu* (not a *Dinu*). For,  *nu* in P.C. and  *val* in Assyrian, both mean "not." From the preceding bilingual gloss this much at least is certain, viz., that *nu-tarda* is a negative term, and the contrary of *tarda*. And from what I have said above it appears to mean "an ordinary person," "not a man of rank," "a poor man," &c. &c.

¶ The Hebrew  to govern, and  *Adon*, *Lord*, seem to be cognate with the Greek *Δυν*, the root of *δυναμις*, *δυναστος*, &c. &c.

158. **Nu-kimmut.** ——— Unassailable, unconquerable.—

In R 35, No. 2, line 2, Nebo bears the title of          which Oppert reads Son of the god Nukimmut. I have come round to that opinion, having mistaken the meaning at first. In R 17, 2, the same epithet is applied to Ninev; but instead of    "Son," we find   *bukur*, "eldest son," the Hebrew  .

In 2 R 67, 67, Nebo bears the same epithet; but now   is replaced by     *rubu*, "chief" or "great." I presume that this is equivalent to *bukur*, "eldest." The above explanation of   is due to Norris, p. 374, who found it used as an epithet of Ninev, "eldest son of Bel," in R 32, 16. The epithet *nu-kimmut* consists of two words, for they are sometimes found in separate lines. And since *nu* has no other meaning than "not," the word  *nu-kimmut* must mean "the god who is not *kimmut*," and the latter word has all the appearance of a participle from the verb *kim* קימ or קרמ. This verb signifies *insurgere*, and I would, therefore, translate  *nu-kimmut* by "the god who is unassailable," or "against whom resistance is vain." It is remarkable that the same phrase exists in Hebrew, only it is applied to a king and not to a god. We read in Proverbs xxx. that a king is *al kum* אל קומ, which Schindler, p. 1602,

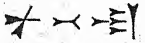
explains "contra quem nemo audet insurgere," from ל *non*, and קמו *surgere*. Now, if we replace the Hebrew ל by the P.C. *Nu*, and *kum* by the participial form *kimmūt*, we obtain the epithet *nu-kimmūt*.

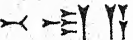

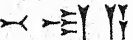
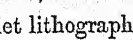



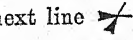
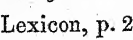
In the remarkable inscription of Sargina, B.M. 33, 6, he calls himself, the fierce destroyer, "sha emukan tsirati 𐎶𐎵 Nukimmut ishruku-su, 𐎶𐎵 kuti tsirri ustibbu idussu; to whom the god Nukimmut has given his lofty 'emukan,' and has placed his long arrows in his hand." Here, I think, *ustibbu* is the Chald. שתב "to give," "to communicate." But the meaning of *emukan* is doubtful. It sometimes seems to mean Arms or Weapons; sometimes other things. But since it is followed in this passage by 𐎶𐎵 *kuti tsirri*, "long arrows," it is probable that we should take *emukan* also in the sense of *weapons*. The passage is very like one in Tigl. Pil. vi. 57: "The gods Ninev and Sidu gave to my hands their piercing arrows and their long spears." In Sargina's inscription, instead of Ninev and Sidu, we have Nukimmut, whose name (the unconquerable) may, I think, be safely paraphrased as "the god of War."








¶ On further consideration I think that the *Emukan* in the above quoted passage, B.M. 33, 6, are "Spears." Compare the clause in Sargina's prayer to the god of war (Opp. Exp. p. 333), where he says, speaking of himself in the third person, "Protect his horses! preserve his chariots! make to fly far his unconquerable spears! and make his arrows sharp, to destroy his enemies!" The only part of this which I need analyse is that regarding the Spears. It stands thus: *Sutali-su emukan lashanan!* Now, ל *tal* is the proper verb in Hebrew for "throwing a Spear." Schindler renders it *jactavit*, *vibravit*, *proiecit*. In 1 Sam. xviii. 11, Saul threw his spear with the intention of slaying David. The original Hebrew text has ל *ital*, "he threw." It is plain, then, that the imperative *Tal* is Throw [the spear]. But the imperative of the *Shaphel* conjugation *Sutal* is, Cause it to be thrown!

Therefore, when we find in a prayer to the god of war for his aid and blessing, "Sutali-su emukan," this must mean "Cause his spears to be *well* thrown!" The adjective *lashanan* probably means "unconquerable," from *Shanan*, to conquer. This verb in the T conjugation forms *ashtanan*, "I conquered," and *ishtananu*, "they conquered."

Another argument for rendering *emukan* "spears" is the following:—When Sennacherib fought with the Egyptians (B.M. 38, 75) the latter brought up against him *emuki la nibi*, which seems to mean "Spearmen without number."

159. Nu-bila. , Everlasting, Eternal (see the next article).

160. Bila.  , otherwise , the End.—Also, that which comes to an end: finite: mortal. This P.C. word occurs in the Michaux inscription, R 70, col. iii. 13, where the god Marduk has the title or epithet *Aga nu bila*; "king without end," or "living for ever." The phrase is explained in a tablet lithographed in 2 R 13, 50, where the P.C.  is rendered by the Assyrian *gamru*   ; and in the next line  is explained *la gamru*. Now, the Hebrew *gamar* גמר means "to come to an end, to cease" (Furst's Lexicon, p. 293); and therefore  *nu-bila* means "never ending." These explanations of *bila* and *nu-bila* are, each of them, given three times in the above-mentioned tablet, 2 R 13, lines 50 to 55.


 In R 59, 66, Nebuchadnezzar says that he is the Vicegerent of Marduk, or his Vicar on Earth. He says in his prayer to Marduk: "Thou hast clothed me with the sovereignty of the World, *kima dumuk-ka bilu* , like thy Mortal Image." To illustrate this, I will give another example of the word *dumuk*, which is written both   and   , "I made an Image (*dumuk*) of his great divinity in (*white marble?*) stone, and shining gold."—R 23, 133,

151. *Itzutzu.* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, He said; they say. *Dixit, dicunt, ut aiunt, &c. &c.*—The origin of this verb appears to me to be the Heb. *itza* ִיצָא, to go forth, with the last letter reduplicated ִיצָצָא. So the English verb “to utter;” Germ. *äussern*, come from *out*, and *aus* respectively, and are, in fact, the same word in different dialects. So *edere* and *efferre*, from the preposition *e* or *ex*—*Ede tuum nomen* (Ovid), *Speak out thy name!*—*Decenter aliquid efferre* (Quint.), to speak with propriety. Also we have the *sha* conjugation of ִיצָא *shatza* or *shazza*, to speak (see the next article). The verb *itza* ִיצָא is used in Hebrew not only for *solemn* utterances as a decree, the sentence of a judge, the promulgation of *doctrine*, or the like, but also for common conversation and vulgar rumour.

Example of the word *itzutzu*.—In line 75 of the Obelisk we read—“Marduk-bel-utzati akhu dubut-zu itti-su ibbuluk, malmalish *itzutzu*; *Marduk-bel-utzati, his younger brother, split with him (as they say).*” In fact the brothers quarrelled, and a civil war arose (all which is again related in 2 R 65, 51). The important phrase here is *malmalish itzutzu*, “as they say in common parlance,” or perhaps “as people say *in that dialect.*” *Malmalish* is an adverb, derived from Hebrew *mala* (מָלָא to speak, מָלָא a word). The reduplicate form is partly preserved in מָלָל. This adverb, doubtless, means “in common conversation.” The parenthesis thus suddenly interposed, like the Latin “*ut aiunt,*” refers to some unusual word that has just preceded. But what is that word? This seems difficult to decide. I think it must be either *dubut* or *ibbuluk*; more likely the latter, because it precedes the remark *more immediately*. But I do not see that *ibbuluk* is so unusual as to call for a special remark on the part of the scribe. *Buluk*, “to rebel,” is not unfrequent, *ex. gr.*, in *bulukti-su rabti, in his great rebellion.*


The account of this fraternal quarrel in 2 R 65, 51, which is unfortunately much mutilated, is not copied from the Obelisk, but from some more copious annals of those times.


In this second account, Marduk-bel-utsati is simply called "his brother," and not "his younger brother." Instead of "*itti-su ibbuluk*" it has "*ki-su*," with him; and it omits the parenthesis *malmalish itzutz*, which perhaps this later scribe considered to be unnecessary.

I will now give another example of the verb *itzutz*, from 2 R 8, 37, in which it is spelt precisely in the same way: . But I must preface it by a few observations to make it intelligible. King Ashurbanipal was a great patron of literature, and to him we owe the fine collection of Grammatical tablets which are now in the British Museum. He took a great personal interest in the matter, as is evident from the boast inscribed by his orders on so many of the tablets "that no king before him had ever done so much for Learning," with thanks to the gods for having so enlarged his intelligence and sharpened his eyesight. He had founded in his palace what, for want of a better term, I may call a College, in which he employed many scribes, who covered the tablets with records of omnigenous learning. Who the pupils were who frequented this college and were initiated into the learning of the age is not ascertained. Many of the tablets contain brief allusions to some course of study. Thus one tablet speaks of "so many months, so many days, and *half a day*;" which, I think, refers to the time in which some particular branch of study had been completed by some class of pupils. If the pupil was one of the young princes, we can easily imagine that a notice of his progress, or something of his writing, would be often submitted to the King; or, if he were a more ordinary person, to the Governor of the Palace.

The passage in 2 R 8, 37, to which I wish to draw attention, contains a kind of Certificate from one of the Teachers that the lessons in grammar or languages have been thoroughly mastered by some one, who, of course, must have been one of the scholars.


It is as follows:—

 malvasu bikharish itzutu.

 malvasu bikharish ibatzu.




The whole of the foregoing he has said perfectly;

The whole of the foregoing he has understood perfectly.








The monogram  is very common on the tablets: it is a compendious mode of expressing “the same with what precedes” or “the same as before.” It serves the same use as our *ditto* or *d'* [that which hath just been *said*; the Italian “*detto*”]. I have rendered it “the foregoing.”














Malvasu, “the whole of it,” is an extremely common word. See the Art. *Malvasu*.

Bikharish, “in a first-rate manner,” is derived, if I mistake not, from the Heb. בכר “*primus fuit*.” It is a very common adverb, usually employed in praise of the king’s success in war, who frequently says: All that country I reduced to obedience “in a first-rate manner” or “admirably well.”

Ibatzu, in the second sentence, is written   . It may come from either of the roots מנצ or מצנ. Of these I prefer the first, *matza* מנצ assecutus est; for this is used in the sense of “learning,” *ex. gr.*, assequi sapientiam, to learn wisdom.—*Ges.* The other verb, the Syriac *batza* “investigavit,” suits very well, *ex. gr.*, בצר *batzu*, examine (the Scriptures),—Schindl. 226: but it was, I think, hardly an ancient word. At any rate, it was much less commonly employed than מצנ, of which Furst gives the meanings, “to attain to, acquire, understand, comprehend.”

162. **Shatzu.** To Speak, Call, Proclaim.—The *sha* or *shaphel* conjugation of *itza*, Heb. יצא,











Sha Ashur Marduk zigir sumi-su ushatzu ana risheti, whom Ashur and Marduk have proclaimed the renown of his name to the end of time (Praises of Sargina, B.M. 33, 2); written     . The same is found in Botta 36, 4, where more gods are named, and *sumi*   is replaced

by the monogram . And on Sargon's Cylinder, line 3, where the verb is written       . In Opp. Khors. line 4, the same recurs, with the adjective    *damku*, "holy," or "fortunate," added; so that the sentence is—"the gods sounded the fame of his *happy* or *sacred* name." The adjective *damku* is of frequent occurrence, and is always rendered by the P.C.   "holy" or "fortunate."


Zigir is not only "nomen," but also "renown" (like *renommée*, from *nomen*). It is the Heb. זכר *nomen*.

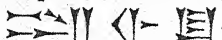
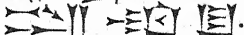
Risheti is rendered by Norris, p. 321, "the ends [of the world]." But there is no word in the text answering to "world." I render it "the end of time," and derive it from ראש *summu*, and עת *tempus*.



¶ The Art. *Ishazzu*, No. 110, should probably be conjoined with this one. *Shazza* or *Shatza*, "to call;" thence *ishazzu-su*, "they call it."

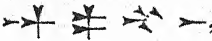
163. *Litash*, plur. *Litassi*.          . a Teacher.—In a grammatical tablet in the British Museum, published by Oppert (*Exp. sc. en Més.* p. 359), Ashurbanipal says that he caused these tablets to be made and placed in his Palace for the enlightenment of the Teachers; *ana tamarti litassi-ya kireb haikal-ya ukin*.

Litash is the Heb. *Lutash* לוֹטֵשׁ, a Master or Teacher; see Sch. p. 947. Thus, in Genesis, Tubal-cain is the *lutash* or teacher of all workers in metal. The Talmud renders it *rabbon* or great master. *Tamarti*, "enlightenment;" from the root *mar*, to see, to be seen, to be bright, &c. &c., of which the compounds are frequent and various, *ex. gr.*, *Ini namirti*: *far-seeing eyes*. *Ashar la mari*; *a place in which a thing cannot be seen, a dark place*. *Namari*; *the dawn of day, when things just become visible*. *Nammir*; *to make bright*. *Namri*; *bright, glittering, &c. &c.*

The letter  is sounded as *li* in this word *Litash*. This

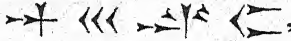
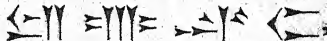
usage is frequent. Thus, in R19, 103, *illiku* (they went) is written . But the other copy of the inscription reads .

Mr. Norris has pointed out (*dict.* p. 418) a remarkable spelling of this word,  which occurs in 2 R 42, 57. Here  has the value *tas*, which is not unfrequent in other words.

164. **Nebuzaradan.** , 2 R 64, 13, *i.e.* Nebo has given seed (or, a son).

This proper name is very interesting, because it occurs in the Bible: "And in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which is the nineteenth year of King Nebuchadnezzar, came Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem. And he burnt the house of the Lord," &c. &c.—2 Kings xxv. 8. See also Jer. xxxix. 10. Another captain of Nebuchadnezzar's host was called Rab Mag, Jer. xxxix. 3. His name is also found in the Assyrian inscriptions, as I have already stated in the article *Imga* (No. 148).

The name of Nebuzaradan in Hebrew letters will be נְבוּזַרְעָדָן from נָבֹרַע *semen*; יָרַן *dedit*. But admitting a Chaldee form אָרַן *dedit* (as in Marduk-bal-adan, and many other names), we obtain the name as it stands in the Hebrew text of the Bible, נְבוּזַרְ אָרַן; where זַר stands for זָרַע, the final of which is lost by reason of the vowel אָ following.

165. **Sanballat.** This is another very interesting Biblical name. Sanballat was a Moabite, very hostile to the Jews, in the time of Nehemiah (see Nehem. vi.). His name was, doubtless, written in the Cuneiform character , "The Moon gave him life," or "was his creator." I deduce this from two very similar names which occur in the inscriptions. One of these is *Nergal-ubullat* , "Nergal gave him life," or "brought him into existence." He was one of the Eponyms, and is named in the Canon.—2 R 68, col. iii. line 38. The other name is *Nebo-bullat*

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, "Nebo gave him life."—2 R 64, 16. I have already (in the article No. 151) given an example of the verb *bullat* (to give life), spelt in the same manner, from the ancient Annals printed in R 19, 81.

Compare also the verb *bullith* (of the same meaning) which is found, 2 R 36, 18, in the praises of Ashurbanipal; "whom Nebo and Ashur have brought into life as a King (*Sar ubullithu su*), and have always guarded his throne."

¶ These two last etymologies (of Nebuzaradan and Sanballat) are as certain as they are simple. Those proposed by Gesenius and Furst are extremely wide of the truth in both cases. I do not impute it as a blame to them, for, before the recent rise of Assyrian studies, these and many other Chaldean names could not be interpreted.

166. *Atzib*. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, a Stone set up as a Landmark, Monument, or Memorial.—This word seems to have hitherto escaped recognition, perhaps from being disguised in the uncouth hieratic form of 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶. Or, it may have been confounded with 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *Ekil*, "a field," Heb. *הקל*, which is written exactly in the same manner. *Atzib* is, however, a pure Hebrew word from the root *יצב* *statuit, posuit*; which is the same as *נצב* (of same meaning). The latter verb, like most others beginning with N, loses that letter in its tenses and derivatives. Of this verb the Hiphil is *etzib* *הציב*, *posuit, collocavit, erexit*; ut columnam, Genes. xxxv. 20; altare, Genes. xxxiii. 20; monumentum, 1 Sam. xv. 12 (*Gesenius*). It especially marked a terminus or boundary of land (*constituit fines—Ges.*), as in Deuter. xxxii. 8, authorised version—"The Most High set the bounds of the territory of the children of Israel." Here, "he set" is in the original text *יצב*. The principal derived word is *matziba* *מצבה*, *statua, monumentum, cippus*. In the latter senses, *cippus* or *monumentum*, the word is also found in Phœnician monuments, of which Gesenius gives nine instances on monuments still extant, one of which is now preserved in a museum

at Oxford. Its translation is: "I Abd-Osiris, son of &c. &c., have erected this memorial stone (*matziba*) to the memory of my wife, &c."—[From Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 130.] But the Assyrians called a memorial stone *Atziba*, without the letter M. This, of course, is perfectly legitimate as a grammatical form. This was about 1150 B.C. It is but a slight change for so long an interval. We read in 2 Sam. xviii. 18—"Absalom during his lifetime set up a monument (*itzib matziba* זִיב מַצֵּבָה), which he called by his own name. And it is called even unto this day *Id Absalom*, "the place of Absalom" (authorised version).

In the Michaux stone, R70, col. ii. 7, we read: "If any one in future days, for the purpose of destroying this memorial stone (*ana tabul atzib suatu*) shall deface (or fracture) this monument (*itzatzu atzib suatu*)," &c. The sense of the word *atzib* is here unequivocal. It goes on at great length: "Whoever shall deface the writing, and then write on it words of his own (*ramani-su*, line 12), or shall throw it into the river, or burn it with fire, or bury it in the earth, &c. &c., may he be accursed!" All this applies to a monumental stone, and to nothing else. But it appears to me that 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, in another part of the very same inscription, means "a field," as it does in the later Assyrian inscriptions. I can only account for this by supposing that "a field" and the stone which marked it were so identified in popular opinion and language, that in speaking of the one, a person virtually implied the other also.

𐎶 The sign 𐎶𐎶𐎶 has the value *Tzib* in this and many other words, sometimes modified into *Sib*. It is also very frequently used for *Liz*.

167. *Nimiki*. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, the Gods.—This important word occurs in *Phill. i. 4*, and again in *E.I.H. i. 7*, where it is spelt 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. In these two passages *Nebuchadnezzar* has the following title of honour: *Mustalam akhiz nimiki*;

Preserver of the possessions of the Nimiki. This phrase has not hitherto been explained. The most likely meaning seems to be "Preserver of the possessions of the Gods, Priests, or Temples."

I have found a passage which seems to prove that the *Nimiki* were the Gods. It occurs in 2 R 16, 65, where the P.C. words $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ "his god (and) his king" are rendered by the Assyrian *nimik-su bel-su* $\text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. Here I would remark that 𐎶𐎶𐎶 "a King" is often rendered in P.C. by $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ "a Lord," and that both 𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶 (*ni* and *bi*) stand frequently for "his." It would seem to follow that *Nimik* means "a god." Observe now how well this suits the passage in E.I.H.i. 7, where "Preserver of the possessions of the *Nimiki*" is followed by "sha aratti iluti-sun istinihu," "he who increased the of their divinities." Since, therefore, they possessed *divinity*, the *Nimiki* were the gods. The other words in the phrase *Mustalam akhiz Nimiki* are easy of explanation. *Mustalam*, "preserver," is the participle of the T conjugation of *Salam* שלם , "to preserve." *Akhiz* $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ is the Heb. אָחִיז "possessio."

Since writing the above, I have noticed the following passage in which *nimiki* occurs, and in which the sense of "gods" suits perfectly well. Opp. Exp. en Més. p. 339 (Prayer of Sargon to his deity): $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, *Oh Lord of the Bright Eye (or bright face)*; $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Bel Nimiki; king of the gods.* *Patiku kal gimir; Creator of the universe:* *ana Sargina sar Ashur, &c. &c.; unto Sargina king of Assyria, grant every blessing! &c. &c.*

In the above, $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *Nin* is "Lord." $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ is sometimes *inu*, "the eye;" sometimes *pan*, "the face:" it is a P.C. word. 𐎶𐎶 *illu*, means "splendour, riches;" therefore we may render *nin pan illu* "lord of the bright face." The verb *patik*, "to form," is frequent, *ex. gr.*, *eptik pitik-su*; *he formed its form.* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *kal* is the Heb. כָּל "all."

M. Oppert remarks that the most usual name of the

god whom Sargina invokes in the preceding passage is

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.

The point to which I wish to draw attention is, his title of 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Bel Nimiki, *king of the gods*. I have found another passage in 2 R 38, 51, in which the same god 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 has the same title (slightly varied in the spelling) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Belnu Nimigam. It will be remembered that *Belnu* is frequently used for *Bel*. As to the final *am* in *nimigam* it is like the title *rabu nadam* instead of *nadu*, and many others. I believe it was an *emphatic* pronunciation. With regard to the etymology of the word *nimiki* I think there can be no doubt that it meant the Mysterious Beings or Mysterious Powers, from the Heb. עמק *profundus, inexploratus* (Ges.), a term which is frequently used in speaking of the Deity, *ex. gr.*, Ps. xcii. 5: "The thoughts of the Lord are very *deep*." "He (the Lord) discovereth the *secrets* of the darkness."—Job xii. 22. "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty's perfection? It is as high as heaven, what canst thou do? *deeper* than hell, what canst thou know?"—Job xi. 8. It is evident from these passages how suitable the word עמק and its compounds were to furnish a designation worthy of the gods, and therefore my derivation of *nimiki* from that root is, I think, sufficiently probable.

I will add an example in which *nimiki* does not mean the gods themselves, but their divine or mysterious nature. In 2 R 36, 19, there are praises of Ashurbanipal—"Sha Nabo u Ashur Sar ubullithu-su; *whom Nabo and Ashur caused to be born a King* (or, *brought him into life, a King*): itsuru sarrut-zu, *and have been the guardians of his reign*." It then goes on—"Nimiki sun bulku; *I offer a sacrifice to their divine power* (for the health of his life, the stability of his years, and the security of his royal throne)." An unfortunate mutilation of the tablet obscures the sense of one or two other following phrases.

N.B. *Bulku* "sacrifice" is given by Norris, p. 99. *Ubullithu* is from the verb *bullith* "to give life." *Itsurnu* from *natsir* נצר "to protect." *Nimiki* is here spelt as in E.I.H. i. 7 (see above).

¶ The god 𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎠𐎹𐎶𐎵 bore the title (as we have seen) of "king of the gods." But he was also *Sar tzuab*, "king of the Abyss." This *Tzuab* (which answers in some respects to the mysterious *Ωκεανος* of the Greeks) was the Sky—the Heavenly Ocean—the "waters above the heavens" of Genesis—the "Heavenly Nile" of the Egyptian mythology—a "profound" of endless depth—the abode of the gods.

In 2 R 67, 81, the gods are called "Children of the Abyss," *binut tzuab*. But 𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎠𐎹𐎶𐎵 was "King of the Abyss," *sar tzuab*. Therefore, he must have been king of the gods, and, in fact, we find him so called. The mythology is, therefore, in accordance with itself. The gods of Greece were also the children of the "Ocean."

ωκεανον τε θεων γενεσιν —Hom. II. Ε 201.

¶ In the Syllabary 687, 𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎠𐎹 *ni*, and its plural 𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎠𐎹𐎶𐎵, are rendered *Ili*, "the gods." This is obscure, but I think it may be merely the initial letter of *nimiki* used for the whole word (a frequent usage).

¶ Another example is found in R 36, 38, where the same god is called *Sar tzuab*; *Bel Nimiki*. And another curious passage in which these words occur is the following: B.M. 43, 3, "Ashurakhbal, *irsu mudu*, the wise king; *khasitzu*, the intelligence; *parit*, bringing forth; *uzni nimiki*, divine thoughts; *sha*, whom; 𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎠𐎹𐎶𐎵, the god 𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎠𐎹𐎶𐎵; *sar tzuab ilimanni*, king of the heavenly abyss; *ana isi*, unto the of the great gods of heaven and earth; *as kini lib-su*, on account of his noble soul; *uduni su*, has exalted him."

Here note especially *nimiki* as an adjective 'divine,' and the epithet of the Abyss *ilimanni* 'heavenly.' 𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎠𐎹𐎶𐎵 himself was a divine *khasitzu* or 'Intelligence' (see R 27, 4, the invocation to the great gods on the Monolith). Therefore it is

in that quality that Ashurakhhbal here invokes him. The other words I will treat of elsewhere. *Uduni* seems 'he exalted, or rewarded;' compare *dunni zikruti*, 'the prize of valour.'

168. **Abari.** 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵, the Gods: the Celestials.

The prayer of Sargina to Ninev, to give him aid in war, was published by Oppert in his *Exp. en Més.* p. 333. It begins: "Ninev bel Abari; *O Ninev, Lord of the Celestials!*" This translation is, in the first place, probable, because the very similar invocation of Sargina to the god 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 which I believe was found at the same time and place, begins: 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 bel Nimiki; *O divine (.....) King of the Gods!*" [see the last article].

When, therefore, we find that in Hebrew poetry the word *Abari* signified 'the Deity,' the above-mentioned 'probability' becomes almost a certainty. The Hebrew word is *Abir* אביר; the Deity is so called in Gen. xlix. 24, and Isaiah i. 24.

¶ The sequel of the invocation increases the probability of this explanation. Ninev bel Abari, sha sutsu dannut-su, ana Sargina sar Ashur, &c. &c.; *O Ninev, Lord of the Celestials, whose pinnacle is lofty, unto Sargina, king of Assyria (grant every blessing)! &c.*

Sutsu 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 is the summit or pinnacle of a mountain; it has the same meaning as *Ubanat*, which it replaces frequently. Ninev was the Meridian Sun, as appears by many passages in the inscriptions. That the Meridian Sun occupies 'a lofty pinnacle' is a poetical image of self-evident truth, and 'Lord of the Celestials' is a natural and proper title for him.

169. **Sahat.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵, an Hour.—Agrees with the Chald. שעה *emphat.* שעתה *Hora*. "I rode all night. I crossed the river Thurnat. I reached the city of Arastu *at the hour of dawn.*"—R 21, 53. In the version which I gave of this passage (Art. 67) I mistook this word. 'As *bikhar sahati*,' *at the hour of dawn*, is the Heb. בקר *manè*; *prima lux*.

170. **Nisikti.** 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎢𐎽, Pearls.—2 R 67, 28; where it is said they were offered to Tiglath Pileser II. by the tribes near the Persian Gulf. The epithet *binut tamti* 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 (productions of the sea) proves them to be pearls. At the same time “gold and silver of the country” were offered; but the word 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 (silver) has been misprinted 𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎠𐎢𐎽 in the lithograph published by the British Museum. I propose, therefore, to cancel the article *Ephar* (No. 102) which was founded entirely upon this passage. Such misprints add considerably to the difficulty of explaining these ancient records.

171. **Inzabati.** Earrings.—“Inzabati sha uznu-sha; *the earrings of her ears.*”—Tablet 162. The Hebrew word corresponding is ְנוֹם ‘inauris,’ an earring. But *b* and *m* are nearly the same in Assyrian.

172. **Subibulti,** a Necklace (see Art. 91).—I have since found the word *Subib* in the form 𐎠𐎢𐎽 ‘a bracelet’ in Buxtorf’s Lex. p. 2304. This completes the evidence. The Assyrian word is a diminutive.

¶ Commentators have had great difficulty in explaining the article of female dress called *subisim* 𐎠𐎢𐎽 mentioned in Isaiah iii. 18. See Lowth on Isaiah, p. 250, who says he had consulted on this word the learned Dr. Hunt, professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford, who could find nothing in the Arabic dictionaries that threw any light upon it. Now, if we suppose a very ancient error of a letter 𐎠 substituted for 𐎢, the word was originally 𐎠𐎢𐎽 *Armilla*, which gives a very satisfactory sense, since one of the commentators, Aben Ezra, renders the word *subisim* 𐎠𐎢𐎽 ‘ornaments of the legs,’ of course merely from conjecture, the sense seeming to require that meaning.

Lowth himself says, p. 249, that this “inventory as I may call it, of the wardrobe of a Hebrew Lady must from its obscurity have been peculiarly liable to the mistakes of tran-

scribers." This remark of the learned Bishop justifies me in proposing the above emendation.

¶ The tablet 162, 'the jewels of the goddess Ishtar,' from which I have taken the two last words *inzabati* and *subibulti*, receives a very good illustration from Ezek. xvi. 11, where he describes Jerusalem under the image of a bride dressed out in all manner of splendid ornaments. I quote Lowth's translation, p. 251, of his work on Isaiah:—

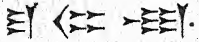
And I decked thee with ornaments :
And I put bracelets upon thine hand,
and a chain on thy neck :
And I put a jewel on thy nose,
and earrings on thine ears,
and a splendid crown upon thine head.

Three of the lines correspond exactly to what we find written on the Assyrian tablet:—

Subibulti sha tzuri-sha;	|	And a chain on her neck;
inzabati sha uznu-sha;		and earrings on her ears;
mir raba sha reshdu-sha.		and a splendid crown upon her head.

This close coincidence shows how familiar Ezekiel must have been with Chaldean customs and modes of expression. He was nearly contemporary with this tablet; which may have been written about thirty years before his birth.

¶ I may add that I was not aware of the parallel passage in Ezekiel when I published my translation of this Assyrian tablet in June 1865, in the Trans. R.S.L. vol. 8. I mention this because some are still incredulous concerning Assyrian decipherment.

173. **Mamitu.** . I translated this word 'a Promise' in No. 49 of this Glossary. But it is more than a *promise*; it is an *oath*. It is derived from the Ch. and Syr. verb **ימא** *jurare*; whence **מומתא** *juramentum*, which is almost exactly the Assyrian *mamita*. I will give another example of the word. Tiglath Pileser had taken prisoners all the kings of the Nahiri. "But," he says, "I pardoned them;

tukumti; *loving peace, but not fearing war.*—Stand. inscr. l. 13.
 Habir 𐎶 𐎶- 𐎶𐎶 otherwise 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 is Ch. חֶבֶר *amicus*.

176. **Nigab.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, Supreme Lord (only in Egypt).

Idi-Bi'il ana nigabuti as eli mat Musri askun; *I raised Idi-Baal to the supreme authority over the land of Egypt.*—Inscr. Tig. Pil. II. 2 R 67, 56. Written 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 = 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = 𐎶𐎶𐎶, This is a very curious word. It represents, if I mistake not, the Assyrian pronunciation of the Egyptian word *Nḥb*, 'a Lord,' which is of the most frequent occurrence in that language. It is also found in Coptic as *Nḥβ*; which Tattam renders κυριος, δεσποτης, dominus (dict.^v p. 302). The Assyrians seem to have heard an aspiration in the middle of the word, as if it were *nihb* or *nihab*.

177. **Nigab,** a Priest, or High Priest.

I do not venture to consider this word the same as the last, because it has apparently no connection with Egypt. I am not sure that it meant 'high priest,' yet that may be the sense intended in a very difficult passage of the tablet 162, which I have published in the Transactions of the R.S.L. vol. 8, p. 252 and 294:—

1. Alik nigab! pitas-si babati!
2. uppit-si ma kima panni labiruti!
3. illik nigab iptas-si babati.
1. *Go Priest, and open the gates for her!*
2. *And take a pledge from her as on former times!*
3. *The Priest went, and opened the gates for her.*

For, it appears from the sequel of the tablet that an oath was exacted from the queen, to return the jewels of the goddess which she borrowed.

Pita 'to open' is the Heb. פתח. We find often in Botta's insers. *pitie kirubi* 'opened earth,' meaning wells sunk in the earth, or tanks to retain the rain-water against dry seasons. *Pittas-si*, 'open to her!' not *pita-si*, because the pronoun *si* being an enclitic, throws back the accent on the former word.

Examples are very common, such as *panús-su* 'to him;' *tsirús-sun* 'upon them,' &c. &c.

Uppit 'a pledge,' Heb. עבט verb and subst. Hiph. העביט 'to take a pledge from one.' *Panni* 'times,' i.e. returning occasions, Lat. *vices*. Heb. פנה 'to turn.'

178. **Patitsi or Patizi.** 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶, High Priest.—This sacerdotal title remained in use for an immense length of time, from the days of Shems-Yem and Ismi-Dagon, eighteen centuries before Christ, until the time of Nebuchadnezzar and probably longer. Before there were kings at Nineveh that country was governed by high priests of Ashur, as is manifest from the following passage: "The temple of Anu and Yem which Shems-Yem, *Patitsi* of Ashur, son of Ismi-Dagon, who was also *Patitsi* of Ashur, in ancient times had made; that temple had fallen to decay."—Tigl. vii. 60. And Nebuchadnezzar in the E.I.H. inscr. i. 5 gives himself the same title, viz. *Patitsi tsiri*, 'High Priest.' And it is spelt in the same way.

¶ I suspect that the Patizeithes of Herodotus is not a name but a title, viz. *Patizi* 'high priest.' We know that he was a Magian priest, and doubtless a man of high station, for he was Comptroller of the King's household when he revolted against Cambyeses. And he is called by Ctesias 'Sphendadates,' which is not a name but a Zend title 'given to the Holy One;' see Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. 2, p. 456. Such a title would be nearly equivalent to 'High Priest.'

179. **Nuab.** 𐎶 𐎶𐎵, Vicegerent, vicar, substitute.—This is the Arabic *Naib*, deputy, substitute, lieutenant; superl. *Nuab*, viceroy (Gilechrist's Vocabulary, p. 81). Schindler writes the word in Hebrew letters נאִיב *Naib*, and renders it 'substitutus, delegatus, prorex,' and derives it from the Arab. root נִרַב 'substituit, posuit in suo loco,' p. 1084.

Sargina, thus boastfully commences an inscription (R36, 1):
Sargina saknu Bel, nuab nahit Ashur; *Sargina the Viceroy of Bel, the glorious Vicegerent of Ashur*

Similarly Nebuchadnezzar boasted to be "the mortal Image of Marduk" (see Art. *Bila*, No. 160). And similarly the successors of Mahomet took the title of Caliphs, *i.e.* his Substitutes or Vicegerents, from the Arab. *Caliph* חֲלִיפָה successit in locum alterius, vicem gessit.—*Sch.* Even the *present* Sultan of Turkey has for one of his titles 'the shadow of God.'

180. **Saknu.** 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, a Viceroy; a Lieutenant of the great King.—Istakkan Saknuti [*over all those lands*] *he placed Lieutenants or Viceroys.*—Botta 16, 27. This word has the sign of 'rank' or 'class' prefixed 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.

Saknu Bel, *Viceroy of Bel*, was a title of Sargina (see the preceding article). Botta's inscriptions often read Sakan Bel 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 instead of Saknu Bel. The Chaldee *Sagan* סגן is nearly related to the Assyrian *Sakan*, for Gesenius interprets סגן Vicarius (principis), and thence Prætor, Præfectus provinciæ, quoting Ezra ix. 2, &c. &c.

181. **Pakhati.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, Chief Magistrates, Prefects, Governors.—Agrees entirely with the Heb. פְּחָתִים plur. of פַּחַ otherwise פַּחַ dux, princeps. They were divided into two classes, *akli* and *shapiri* (perhaps 'greater' and 'smaller').—Opp. Khors. line 178.

182. **Nam.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, a kind of Head Dress denoting high rank.—In 2R 25, 21 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Nam Belna* is explained *Agie billuti*, crowns of lordship (or high rank). And in the next line 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Nam alik pani* is explained *Agie sarti*, crowns of royalty. *Alik pani* means 'a Leader, General, or Sovereign,' it is literally 'one who goes first,' from *alikh*, Heb. הָלַךְ 'to go,' and *pani*, Heb. פָּנֵה 'before.' It is a very common title. In the P.C. language it is generally rendered 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 because 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 answers to the Assyrian *pani*, and 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (to go) is in Assyrian *alikh*. From this word 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *nam* 'a head dress or coronet,' we easily see why an Assyrian governor or other nobleman was usually called a *bel nam*

names. It is easy to see the meaning of Nebushasban in Assyrian, but I did not give it in Art. 165 because at that time I had not met with the name in the Assyrian records.

Nebu-shazib-ani means 'Nebo save me!' This verb occurs under the form *suzib anni* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 'preserve me!' in the inscription of Nabonidus ii. 20. Recently, however, Mr. G. Smith has discovered the name of Nebo-sezib-ani on a tablet in the British Museum. This Assyrian name was given as a compliment to the son of Pharaoh Necho I, king of Egypt, at that time a subordinate king of the city Athribis, but who afterwards apparently ascended the throne of Egypt by his native name of Psametik I (see G. Smith in Lepsius Zeitschrift, p. 96).

185. **Yami.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, the Sea.—Agrees exactly with the Heb. ים if pronounced as *Yam*. This word, as Norris has pointed out (dict^y p. 467), occurs 2 R 43, 59, where it is made synonymous with 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, both of which signify 'the sea;' see also 2 R 41, 45.

186. **Khibishti.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Roofing Beams.—Tie beams. Heb. חִבְשֵׁי ligavit, superalligavit, superimposuit, clausit, compegit (Sch.). Botta 46, 59, "I laid its roof with *khibishti* of the land of Khamana (Mount Hermon)." These were always of fine cedar wood.

187. **Mudu.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Wise, Intelligent, Skilful, Cunning.—This word is probably the participle of the Heb. ידע 'to know.'

Irsu mudu, *the wise king [whose mind is full of divine thoughts inspired by the god Bitu].*—B.M. 43, 3. Compare this with B.M. 41, 20: "Then I, Sennacherib asharaddan malki, the first of kings, mudie miri kala ma, who understand fine works of every kind [made great figures of Lions such as no king before me ever had made. And with the profound thoughts which the god Bitu gave me I formed a plan in my own mind how to execute this great work]. I have abridged a little.

Here *mudie* is written $\text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣}$. I have translated *asharaddan malki* 'first of kings,' since the phrase occurs elsewhere undoubtedly in that sense; but I should not be surprised if it meant *here* 'first of artificers or planners' from the Syr. and Chald. verb מלך *malak*, 'to take counsel,' especially since that verb occurs directly afterwards (l. 25), *ana epish miri suatu rabish amtallik* (which is the T conjugation of *malak* 'to consult'), and perhaps again in the same line, 'in *milik-ya*,' written $\text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣}$.



I translate *kala ma* 'every kind' because I think it is the same phrase which is found in the name of one of the Palaces. *Haikal pakidat kala mu*, *the Palace of protection of every kind*, i.e. in which every kind of useful thing is stored up or cared for [as was in fact the case, for it comprised all manner of public offices and departments]. See Esarhaddon vi. 26 for this name of the palace.

188. **Tila.** Life, or Health.—In Art. 38 I considered the phrase $\text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣}$ *ana ti zi-su*, 'for the health of their lives,' and I said "the word *ti* is perhaps the abbreviation of some longer word." I have since found that it stands for *Tila*, used apparently in the sense of 'health.' The following passage seems decisive on that point; it occurs in a prayer for the prosperity of King Ashurbanipal, 2 R 36, 20. "I sacrifice to the gods $\text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣}$ *ana tila zi-su*, 'pro salute vitæ suæ.'

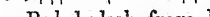

Another example is found in R 6, No. 7, where Sargina builds a temple, '*ana tila-su*,' *pro salute suâ*; *dimu zir-su*, *the tranquillity (or security) of his race*; *tsidiki sha Ashur-ki*, *the just government of Assyria*; *salam Ashur-ki*, *and its safety*.

189. **Mitinna.** $\text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣} \text{𐎢𐎣}$, a Gift.—Agrees entirely with the Heb. מתן 'a gift.' Mitinna was the name of a king of Tyre who paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser II, see 2 R 67, 66. His *full* name was doubtless Mitinna-Bel, 'gift of Bel'; but we see by many instances that names were *shortened*

in common parlance by omitting the name of the god, or in some other way." Thus we have *Zabdan* which, spoken full, was probably *Nebo-zab-dan*, 'Nebo has given a warrior.' Elsewhere (R 41, 23) we have *Umman-minan*, king of the Susians, addressed by an ambassador simply as "King Umman!" And so also if I am not mistaken, Ahaz, king of Judah, had in his youth been called *Jeho-abazi* (Jehovah is my possession); see Art. 135. And so *Nigas* (probably for *Khumba-nigas*) is the name of a foreigner on the Zaaleh stone.

190. **Mitinti.** , a Gift.—This is another form of the last word. Sometimes the first letter is . Mitinti king of Ashdod is named in R38, 51. He submitted to Sennacherib, and was rewarded with several cities taken from Hezekiah; see R39, 24. He probably rendered still further services to the Assyrians, for in the days of Esarhaddon we find that he was king of Ascalon (R48, 4).

Mitinti is probably a contraction of Mitinti-Bel 'gift of Bel.' Another form of this name Nidinta-Bel is found in the Behistun inscription, l. 34. The root is *natan* נתן 'to give.'

191. **Rabshakeh.**  And the king of Assyria sent Rabshakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah Then Rabshakeh stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language—2 Kings xviii. The above is one of the most familiar passages of scripture. Schindler and Gesenius explain the name Rabshakeh by 'princeps pincernarum,' that is 'Chief Butler, or Cupbearer.' By a curious coincidence when Tiglath Pileser II. sent an envoy to Mitinna king of Tyre to demand tribute (2 R67, 66) he says: "I sent an officer who was a *Rabshak* to the city of Tyre." The verb employed is  *ashbur* 'I sent an Envoy.'

I feel some doubt about Rabshakeh being the 'Chief Butler.' The meaning seems incongruous, for why should a 'chief butler' be the chosen envoy in *two* instances? Some light is thrown upon it by the gloss in 2 R31, 34, which explains 'the rank of Rab-sak,' or 𐤓𐤁𐤔𐤏𐤕, by 'the rank of 𐤔𐤕 𐤔𐤕.' The

latter word appears in the glosses to have the meaning 'illustrious.' There was a great temple of 𐎶 𐎶. Here it may be observed that 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *sak* signifies 'head or chief' in P.C. hence 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 would be 'great chief' or 'distinguished nobleman.' Such a meaning is much more probable than 'chief butler.'

In the story of Joseph (Genes. xl.) the 'chief butler' has a very different name, *Sar ha-meshkim* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶.

Again we find 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Sakku* explained 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Barra* in 2R 36, 3. And the latter word (which is often reduced to its first sign) signifies 'chief' or 'first.' Hence *Rab-Sak* would be 'great Prince.'

192. **Chedorlaomer.** A celebrated king of Elam in the days of Abraham (Gen. xiv.).—Many conjectures have been offered respecting this name. The first part of the name is written 𐎶𐎶 in the Hebrew text of Genesis. I think it is the Assyrian *Kudur*, and that it probably means 'King.' There was an ancient king Kudur-mabuk whose inscription is given in R, pl. 2. His name seems to mean 'King,' with an unknown adjective added. This *kudur* seems to represent the Arabic 𐎶𐎶 'potens,' whence 𐎶𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *kadir* 'potens,' 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *kudra* 'power' (Schindler). Gilchrist's Vocabulary, p. 210, has *qudur* 'rank, dignity, greatness;' *qadir* 'powerful;' *al-qadir* 'the Almighty' [hence the name of the celebrated Arab chief Abd-el-Kader, 'servant of the Almighty']; *qudir* 'powerful, Almighty;' *qudrut* 'power, omnipotence, providence;' *qudruti* adj. 'divine.'

Supposing, then, that this is the meaning of the first part of the name, let us go on to the remainder. The name is written in the Greek version of the LXX Χοδολλαγομορ: in the Vulgate Chodorlahomor. Admitting (from what has been said) that the first part is 𐎶𐎶, the name will be 𐎶𐎶 with the epithet 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. Now this adjective *lo-gomor* is pure Assyrian, *la-gamar* 'living for ever.' I have shown in Art. 160 that *la-gamar* in Assyrian answers to 'nu-bila' 'everlasting' in P.C. and that one of the principal gods had the title of *Aga-nu-bila*

'king living for ever.' This translation is repeated three times in the plate 2 R13, so there can be no doubt of its correctness. The pompous title of Kudur-la-gamar 'king living for ever' is in accordance with the inflation of Oriental style. See for instance the book of Daniel. 'Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriac, 'O king LIVE FOR EVER!' Even at the present day the Shah of Persia is styled 'Centre of the universe!' and the Sultan of Turkey, 'Shadow of God!'

¶ In the same passage of Genesis is named "Tidal king of nations." This name is admitted to be incorrect. The LXX have *Θαργαλ*. It appears to me that this name can be well represented by the Assyrian 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Tar-gal* 'great Chief,' a title very similar to 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Tartan*, and having the same meaning.

¶ In the same passage is named Amraphel king of Shinar. Shinar or *Σεννααρ* שֵׁנַר is rendered *Βαβυλωνια* by the LXX and *γη Βαβυλωνος*. The meaning of the name is uncertain. Gesenius says "Origo latet." Nevertheless I think it probable that it means 'the two rivers' or Mesopotamia, since it was the level alluvial plain between the Tigris and Euphrates. From the Heb. שֵׁן or שְׁנִי 'two' and נָהָר 'a river,' *Σεν-νααρ*. [I have since found myself anticipated in this conjecture by Professor Rawlinson in Smith's dict. of the Bible.]

193. *Sibuta*. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 , otherwise *Sabuta* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 , Old Age.—Agrees exactly with the Chald. *סיבות* 'senectus, canities,' which is also written *שיבות*. Schindler says that *שיבות* denotes a more advanced old age than *זקנה*. The latter term is applied to a man 60 years old, while *שיבות* denotes (*juatà Hebræos*) an age of 70 years. But it is evident that this is a mere Hebrew fancy, resting only on the resemblance between *שיבות* and the word *שבע* 'seven.' This numeral takes the vowel *i* in Assyrian (see *Siba* 'seven,' No. 196).

Examples of this word.—In R15, 54 the king celebrates the praises of his ancestor Ashur-dayan (whose name signifies

A good example of the word is found in 2 R 33, 10, where it occurs among many similar phrases: 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 ana sibuti-su, to his grandfather. The meaning is well ascertained by the preceding phrases, viz. 'to his child; to his son; to his brother; to his father; to his grandfather;' all which are rendered into Proto-Chaldean in the opposite column. The P.C. for 'grandfather' is *Abba*.

195. **Sibta.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 , a Grandmother.—Feminine of the last word. It occurs in a gloss in 2 R 32, 65 (unfortunately partly broken), which, compared with the following, shows that *Sibta* is equivalent to *Umma raba* or Grandmother 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 . It is also made equivalent to 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 'mother,' followed by the epithet 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 *sik* or *sak*, which is perhaps an abbreviation of the Heb. *zagna* זקנה 'old.'

196. **Siba.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 , Seven.—The same with the Heb. שבע. In 2 R 19, 14 the numeral 𐎶𐎵𐎶 is rendered *Siba*. So also in 66 of the same plate (in a different phrase). And in the first line of Bellino's inscription we find 'arkhi sibuti' 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 in the seventh month. And on tablet K 1, last line, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 tam sibutti, day the seventh.

197. **Sabbi.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 , the name of one of the Assyrian Deities.—The inscription of Tiglath Pileser and several others commence with a list of the principal gods of Assyria, generally about twelve or fourteen in number. In one of these lists the name of *Sabbi* occurs, on the unpublished tab. 100, otherwise 73a. This is a proof of his high rank in the celestial hierarchy. In the tablet K, 255 his name occurs coupled with that of the god Anu. The tablet K, 252 contains a copious list of the families of the gods. From such lists as these the ancient Greeks may have borrowed some ideas, and we may see in them the first germ of Hesiod's *Theogonia*. In this tablet *Sabbi* stands conspicuously at the head of his family, who are named in a compartment of eight lines, the last line of which is 'Ili sha bit Sabbi,' these are the gods of the house of *Sabbi*. In the name of this god, the number seven 𐎶𐎵𐎶 stands conspicuous (see the

preceding article). I have suggested in the Trans. R.S.L. that he may have ruled specially over the seven planets, and that his worship may have been connected with that of Sabazius, an Oriental deity. It may be remembered also that the worshippers of Dionysus gave him the mystical title of $\Sigma\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$ and shouted during the orgies *Evo! Σαβοι!*

198. **Surmat.** 𐤔𐤓𐤓 , Rebellion.—Heb. כרם 'rebellious,' related to כרב 'to rebel' (Furst's lex.). 𐤔𐤓𐤓 𐤔𐤓𐤓 𐤔𐤓𐤓 Amish surmat-zu, *I forgave his rebellion* (Opp. Khors. pl. 6, l. 51). Amish 'purgavi' is the Arabic verb 𐤔𐤓𐤓 'purgare.' The Hebrew has not the verb, but has the derived substantive 𐤔𐤓𐤓 'purgatio.'—*Ges.*
199. **Sumila.** 𐤔𐤓𐤓 𐤔𐤓𐤓 , the Left Hand (see Art. 46).—The present spelling is an important variation. The sign 𐤔𐤓𐤓 , though its *normal* value is *Ku*, is frequently to be read *Su*. In R 42, 53 Sennacherib speaks of his palace. After mentioning the *gates* he says "I made noble figures of the divine bulls formed of stone from the province of Balada, and I set them on the right side and on the left." 𐤔𐤓𐤓 𐤔𐤓𐤓 𐤔𐤓𐤓 𐤔𐤓𐤓 Imna u sumila [ushazbit sisa-shin]. The conjunction 𐤔𐤓𐤓 (and) is misprinted 𐤔𐤓𐤓 in the lithographed text. In writing the sign 𐤔𐤓𐤓 *Su* it sometimes happened that the broad ends of the horizontal wedges coalesced at their points, and thus formed a continuous line. In this manner the sign 𐤔𐤓𐤓 became 𐤔𐤓𐤓 or at least not easily distinguishable from it; and thus, if I mistake not, the scribes got into the habit of writing 𐤔𐤓𐤓 for *Su* in certain words.
200. **Karaz,** a Proclamation.—"Useful works such as purifying the river, and digging wells for the use of the citizens, they (the kings my ancestors) never thought of doing, nor ever issued such decrees." Passages similar to this, but varying slightly in the expressions employed, abound in the inscriptions. Val ustabil karaz-zu, *they never made proclamation.* Karaz is the Ch. כרז 'proclamavit.' From hence is derived the substantive כרז *karuz* 'præco' a Crier. This *karuz* is the origin of the Greek Κηρυξ 'a herald' or 'public crier,' of which the Doric

form *Kapvξ* was probably the original one. Equally interesting is the verb *ustabil*, which is associated with *karaz-zu*. This is the *istaphel* or ST conjugation of the verb יבֵּל, and יבֵּל is 'to make proclamation by sound of trumpet.' Such proclamation was the יבֵּל or יובֵּל *yubil* so familiar to us in English and German under the form *Jubil*.

In 2R43, 42 יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל 'ustabilu karaz-zu' merely means 'he gave orders,' viz. to create a library of useful knowledge, by inscribing the clay tablets, of which so many fragments have been found. This passage makes me doubt whether *karaz-zu* is not rather the Heb. קרא 'to speak aloud; to command;' so that *karat* would be a substantive meaning a 'command.' This verb is related to כרַן though beginning with a different letter. The LXX renders both of them by κηρυσσειν. In Bellino line 41 the word *ustabil* is written יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל where יבֵּל replaces יבֵּל *bi lu*.

201. **Sharut.** יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל, Instruction.—יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל Dibbu sharut isthur iznik ib(ri); *Tablets of instruction he wrote, &c. &c.*—2R43, 42. This phrase often occurs. The usual spelling is *sarrut* יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל יבֵּל, see No. 7.
202. **Lagamar.** A deity of the Susians, named, with many others, on the tablets of Ashurbanipal.—This word suggests a different explanation of the name of king Kudur-lagamar (*Chedorlaomer*) from that which I gave in Art. 192. Perhaps it is a purely Susian name, meaning *Servant* or *Worshipper* of the god *Lagamar*. Similar names were borne by two other kings, Kudur יבֵּל Nakhundi, and Kudur-Mabuk. This meaning of the word *kudur* in the language of Elam is, however, merely conjectural, and based on the analogy of names in other languages, as Abdallah, Abd-Istarte, Abed-Nebo, Shemesh-Bar (*servant of Bar*), &c. &c.
203. **Salam,** Peace.—The following passage was omitted in Art. 175. In Opp. Khors. 10, 90 the king of Ashdod rebels against Sargina, who subdues him and makes Akhimiti, his brother, king in his

is, I suppose, of the same origin with Heb. מַב or מִב 'bonus'; 'to do good' to a sick person might be used for 'to heal.' This gloss about 'medical waters' will, perhaps, enable us to go further in explaining this inscription, R 35, No. 2. The word *shakie* follows. Ana Nebo dapini shakie; perhaps this means [Lord of] medicinal draughts, from the Heb. שָׁקו 'potus' a draught.—Ps. 102, Hosea ii. Nebo is next called *tarbit sakkil*, which I think may mean *learned and wise*. *Tarbit* generally means 'educated'; here I would say 'learned.' *Sakkil* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is the Ch. שָׁכֵל or כָּכֵל *sapiens, intelligens*.

¶ The Talmud uses דַּפְנָא for the Greek δαφνη a bay tree. I think there may be some connection, because Phœbus was a skilful physician, *ιατρος σοφος*, says Aristophanes. Indeed he was the same as Παιων, who was the great physician of the gods. It is possible that a branch of the δαφνη hung out indicated the abode of a physician.

Dapinu in 2R31, 70 stands opposite to *emamu*, but the two columns are independent and unconnected lists of verbs, and both are in Assyrian.

205. **Nu-bila** (see Articles 159, 160).—I will here add some further evidence. In 2R18, 19 we see that the P.C. monogram 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 means a 'sale' or 'bargain,' in Assyrian 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *simu*. And we find the monogram used in that sense on the Michaux stones. Now when this monogram is followed by 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *bila* it is explained in Assyrian by *simu gamru*, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 'a sale which will cease,' or 'a temporary sale.' But when it is followed by 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *nu-bila* it is explained *simu la gamru* 'a sale which is for ever.'

206. **Enuma.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *adv.* When.—Appears to agree exactly with the Arab. ٱنْما *enma* (cum, quando). Enuma haikal sātu ilabbiru innakhu, *when this palace shall grow old and decay*.—Bell. l. 63. Enuma, &c. &c. *When Ashur-danin-a, in the days of Salmanubar his father, raised an insurrection, &c. &c.*—R 32, 39. I will add a curious passage from tab. 173, in which

roboration of either of these names, but I now find, on comparing two lists of Eponyms in 2 R, pl. 68 that the same man is called $\rightarrow\star \lll \hat{\imath}- \langle \imath- \imath\imath (\overline{\imath\imath})$ San-sallim-ani (the Moon is my saviour) in one list, and $\rightarrow\star \lll \langle \imath\star \rightarrow\star \overline{\imath\imath}$ in the other. Now $\imath\imath \overline{\imath\imath}$ ani and $\rightarrow\star \overline{\imath\imath}$ anni are variants of the same word, as appears by numerous examples in the lists of Eponyms. Consequently $\langle \imath\star$ must have the value $\hat{\imath}- \langle \imath-$ *sallim* and the meaning 'to save' or 'to give peace or rest.' Another very similar example is found in the name of the Eponym (see 2 R, pl. 69). $\rightarrow\star \imath \hat{\imath}- \langle \imath- \imath\imath (\overline{\imath\imath})$ Marduk-sallim-ani, which in another column is written ($\rightarrow\star$) $\imath \langle \imath\star \rightarrow\star \overline{\imath\imath}$, showing that $\langle \imath\star$ is equivalent to $\hat{\imath}- \langle \imath-$ *sallim*. Accepting this new value of $\langle \imath\star$, the name of the Obelisk King $\langle \imath\star \Xi \imath \star \star$ will become Salimmanubar, or Salma-nubar, somewhat (though slightly) resembling Salmaneser. Another argument tending in the same direction may be stated thus:—The setting of the Sun, which may be considered as his 'repose' or 'rest,' is called in Assyrian both *salam shemsi* and *dimu shemsi* (see Art. *Dimu*, No. 139). Here we have the same equivalence as before of the syllable $\langle \imath\star$ and *salim*.

212. **Ashur-danin-ani.** $\rightarrow\star \Psi \Xi \imath\imath \Xi \overline{\imath\imath\imath\imath} \imath\imath \overline{\imath\imath}$ (Ashur strengthen me!), name of an Eponym in 2 R 68, 16. The same person is called in l. 36 of another column Ashur-danin-anni, changing $\imath\imath \overline{\imath\imath}$ into $\rightarrow\star \overline{\imath\imath}$. These two words had, therefore, the same meaning. If we compare this name with that of $\rightarrow\star \rightarrow\star \Psi \Xi \imath\imath \Xi \overline{\imath\imath\imath\imath} \imath\imath$ Ashur-danin-a, the rebellious son of Salmanubar (R 32, 39), it will appear, I think, probable that the last sign $\imath\imath$ is not to be read *bal* (a son) but *a* (me), a pronoun equivalent to *ani*. The pronoun $\imath\imath$ is very common. *Ashur-danin-a* is 'Ashur strengthen me!'

¶ An Eponym in l. 7 of same plate 68 has the analogous name *Nebo-danin-ani* (or *anni* $\rightarrow\star \overline{\imath\imath}$ in l. 27 of another column).

213. **Ashur-shazban.** $\rightarrow\star \Psi \star \star \imath\imath \overline{\imath\imath}$, 2 R 68, No. 2 obv. l. 26. This proper name of an Eponym, meaning

217. **Gi.** $\gg\Delta$, a Valley, or Wet Bottom.—So Norris (dict. 156), who compares the Heb. נַי 'a valley,' no doubt correctly. Again, the syllabary 366 renders $\gg\Delta$ $\equiv\Upsilon$ or *gie* by *kitu*, which, as Mr. N. observes, means 'the earth.' I will add that *kitu* also means 'down,' or anything that is 'low.' Now, in the preceding article we have *suk* 'watery.' These two words put together make *gi sukki* $\gg\Delta$ $\equiv\Upsilon$ \ll *marshes* (first correctly translated by Oppert *marais*). Mr. N. remarks that $\gg\Delta$ and $\equiv\Upsilon$ are separate words, because they are in separate lines on the stone. *Example* R 46, 54. The Gambuli tribe (in lower Chaldaea near the sea) are described as dwelling 'like fishes,' *kima nuni*, in the waters and marshes $\gg\Upsilon$ \ll \ll $\gg\Delta$ $\equiv\Upsilon$ \ll as *mie u gi sukki*. It is added, that their territory extended twelve *kasbu*.
218. **Masak.** $\equiv\Upsilon$ $\gg\equiv$, the Skin.—Agrees entirely with the Chald. מַשַּׁק 'pellis,' 'cutis.' This word was first explained by Oppert. *Masak-su akutz*, 'cutem ejus detraxi'; Opp. Khors. vi. 4 and vii. 1. The verb is here spelt Υ $\equiv\Upsilon$ \gg \ll .
219. **Zu, or Tzu.** $\gg\ll\Upsilon$, the Skin.—A Proto-Chaldaean word frequently used in the inscriptions. R 19, 92, *Akutzu zu-sun*, 'I stripped off their skins.' Repeated in the next line in the singular 'his skin.' The verb in the former line is written Υ $\equiv\Upsilon$ \gg \ll , and in the latter line Υ $\equiv\Upsilon$ $\gg\ll\Upsilon$, while in Opp. Khors. vi. 4 it is Υ $\equiv\Upsilon$ \gg \ll . These forms are nearly equivalent. *Tzu* also means the skin of a wild beast, *ex. gr.* R 14, 68: Tiglath Pileser kills four wild bulls in one of his hunting expeditions, and says "I sent home their skins and their horns to my city of Ashur." Here 'skins' are expressed by $\gg\ll\Upsilon$ \ll , which is the same symbol slightly varied. In 2R 16, 57 the P.C. $\equiv\Upsilon$ is rendered in Assyrian *masak* $\equiv\Upsilon$ \gg \ll .
220. **Shadu.** \gg $\equiv\Upsilon$ \gg , a King.—This is the Heb. שַׁדַּי dominus, fortis, potens. Bagdatti, the *Shadu* (or king) of Isdis. Opp. Khors. vi. 3. The term \gg $\equiv\Upsilon$ \gg is very frequently applied to the chief of the gods, *ex. gr.* R 37, 10, where Sennacherib

says: Ashur shadu rabu, *Ashur the great King*; sarrut la shanan usatlima annima, *has given me a kingdom which is unsailable*. So also the Hebrew uses שר as an epithet of Jehovah, Job v. 17, &c. &c. Our version has 'Almighty,' and 'Shaddai.' LXX παντοκρατωρ. Vulg. Omnipotens.

¶ I am at present rather inclined to explain the second (or less frequently used) name of Nebuchadnezzar, viz. *Nebushadu-ussur*, 'Nebo protect the King.' His principal name, *Nebo-kudurri-ussur* appears to have a similar meaning, see Art. 192 for the word קדר 'powerful.' It may be 'Nebo protect my crown,' or 'my royal power.'

221. Basa, to Dwell; to Exist.—*Ibbasu* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 < 'he dwelt.' "Where a beast of the desert never dwelt; nor a bird of the air ever built its nest" (example quoted by Norris, dict. 357). "Nineveh the exalted city, the city beloved by Ishtar, where all manner of worship of gods and goddesses *has a dwelling within it*," *basu kirēb-su* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (Bellino, l. 35). In B.M. 18, 30 the king says: "I built a city, which I called the city of *Ashur-basha*." → 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 (*Ashur's dwelling*). Of course there was a temple of Ashur there, and probably a fine one. Ki yaati val ibassi, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 > <𐎶 with me they dwelt not.—2R 60, 18.

¶ I do not find this verb in Hebrew. I think it may be the Persian *bashiden*, to dwell or be. *Bas* a dwelling-place, home, residence; *bash* being, living, existence (Gilchrist's Vocab. p. 70).

222. Dalu, to Sell.—*Ittadalu* 'he sold.' Schindler, p. 390, gives the Arabic دال, دل (which he reads *datal* and *dal*), and explains 'he sold by auction.' His words are 'per preconem res vendidit; auctionatus fuit; hastæ subjecit; publicavit bona.' He also gives the conjugation *astadal* having the same meaning. This word occurs on the tablet 2R 13, 30. 'Bit ana kaspi ittadalu,' *he sold his house for silver* (or money). This is followed in four separate lines, by 'he sold his field for silver,—his wood or plantation—his female slave—his male slave.' The original terms are these: 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 'house,' 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 'field,' 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶

'wood,' 𐤆𐤍𐤏𐤍 (*shallat*) 'female slave,' 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏 (perhaps *ardu*) 'male slave.' Of these 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 is important as showing that this sign meant woods or plantations *in general*, and not any particular sort of tree. Norris, p. 388, gives the same explanation of the term. Then, curiously enough, the whole of these valuables are crowded into a single line (l. 28) 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍.

The only difference is, that the male slaves are now named first. These five things are called *tsibit kaspi-su* 'his valuables' (literally *res argenti sui*). *Tsibit* being the Chaldee עִבִּית *'res, negotium'* (Sch. 1513). We have had the word before (see in Art. 127 *Kamu tsibitti-sun*). These valuables of five kinds, the tablet says (l. 29) 'ana manzazani uzziz,' *he put up to* (perhaps to *auction*). The word *manzazan* is unknown to me, but probably comes from the same root as *uzziz* 'he set up,' Heb. עָזָז *'firmavit,'* a root exceedingly common in Assyrian. *Manzaz* would be a substantive formed from this root. Some light is thrown upon it by l. 20, which speaks of the 'sale' (*simat*) by the *manzazan*, which I take to be some sign *fixed up* indicating 'a sale'; perhaps it was a *spear* fixed in the ground and bearing a flag (compare the Latin expression *hastæ subjicere*, to sell publicly). Cicero says: *Sylla ausus est dicere, hastâ positâ, cum bona in foro venderet, &c.* Emptionem ab hastâ (Nepos). Ibi nunc ad hastam locamus, *we let by public auction* (Livy). Sub hastâ venditis (Tacitus), &c.

Ittadalu is spelt 𐤇𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤇𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤇𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤇𐤏𐤏𐤏 in lines 30 and 38. *Manzazan* is written in two ways. In line 29 it is 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍. But in line 21 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍. The P.C. translation of this is *Duba* 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍.

223. **Napal** (*verb*), to Throw Down.—Agrees exactly with the Heb. נָפַל 'to fall,' and in Hiph. 'to throw down.' Dur-su raba u atsaiti-su sha agavri, ana napali akba su, *its great citadel and its towers of brick, to throw them down I gave command.*—Tig. vi. 28. So also Opp. Khors. p. 178. *Napali* is spelt 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍.

224. **Zahin** (*verb*), to Adorn.—When a Temple is spoken of, the king often says ‘*Uzahin*’ $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} = \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} = \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ I adorned it. *Ex. gr.* 2 R 38, 51. Also in *Phill. i.* 33; “I adorned the temple of Zarpanita with images,” $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *kutziḫam*, from Heb. קצץ a carved stone.

I do not find the verb *zahin* in Hebrew. It is the Arabic *Zain* زین ‘an ornament.’

225. **Thup.** $\text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵}$ (*adj.*), Good.—Agrees with the Heb. טוב *bonus*. The meaning is ascertained from R 16, 61, where it is made equivalent to the P.C. *khiga* (good).
226. **Dabu.** $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ (*adj.*), Good.—Closely related to the preceding. *Sha erit-zun dabu*, *whose forests are good*.—R 39, 23.
227. **Dabish.** $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ (*adv.*), Well.—Heb. טוב *bonus*. *Dabish upakhir*, *I well collected, I skilfully assembled* (said of precious objects of art).—*Phill. iii.* 24.

In R 16, 62 it is spelt $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *Dapish*. “May the gods protect him *well*! (*dapish lattarru-su*).” Here the other copy reads *khigaish* (see the next article).

228. **Khigaish.** $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ (*adv.*), Well.—An Assyrian adverb formed from the P.C. word *khiga* ‘good.’ This is very curious and important as showing that the Assyrians familiarly used Proto-Chaldean words, and did not, as some suppose, read those words differently from what was written, by substituting an Assyrian translation. They may, of course, have done so sometimes, but it is evident that the languages had got intermixed, and many P.C. words were in actual use down to a late period. See a still more remarkable instance of this in the next article.

229. **Khukharish.** $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, Completely.

Ex. gr. 2 R 67, 15. “All the land of Chaldaea I swept completely bare, *khukharish askhup*.” First, as to the verb *askhup* ‘I swept.’ This is the Heb. סרס ‘to sweep away.’ Furst’s *Lexicon*, p. 975; Gesen. p. 708. It occurs again in the same page, l. 13: ‘*kima sapari askhup*,’ I swept away (all that tribe) *like shavings of wood*. See similar passages in various inscrip-

- tions, *ex. gr.* 'I left the land of Illipi a desert.' "Not one soul was left." "Not one tree was left," &c. &c. The very curious adverb *khukharish* seems to be a *proverbial expression*, composed of *khū* 𐎲𐎵 'a bird,' and *kha* 𐎲𐎠𐎫 'a fish,' which are very commonly joined together in the inscriptions. Hence *khukharish askhup* meant "I swept off both fowl and fish," that is "I swept away everything." "Nothing was left alive." This adverb occurs again, same page, l. 32: "Those districts of Media *khukharish akkir*." This verb *akkir* may come from *nakkir* 'to destroy.' Initial N is often dropped in the verbs.
230. **Salmish.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵, otherwise 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵 (*adv.*), Safely.—Salmish atura, *I returned safely.* *Ex.* given by Norris, p. 404, Salmish lattarruni, *may (the gods) protect me safely!*—R16, 30. Atura 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵 from the root *tur*, to turn or return.
231. **Haggarish.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵 (*adv.*), Down to the Ground: from *haggar* 'the ground,' for which see Art. 109.
Haggarish ibbul, *he destroyed it down to the ground.*—Botta 87, 5. Another example in 2R67, 21: 'I levelled that city with the earth.'
232. **Akilu.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵, Corn, Cornfields.—Heb. אכל frumentum, fruges, annona, cibus. "May the god Sanna destroy all his cornfields! *akilu bari lilabbit-zu*," from Heb. לביט 'periit,' R70, col. iii. 19. Another of the Michaux inscriptions gives a different phrase, "May the gods destroy all his cornfields! *gimir lani-su lilabbit-zu.*" Sanna 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵 may be the god of the Year; see Bellino, l. 49, where *Sanna* (so spelt) signifies 'a year.'
Another example is found in 2R53, col. iv. 1, 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵 *Akilut*, 'provisions' or 'eatables,' and again in col. iv. 38.
233. **Bar.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵, Corn, Wheat.—Heb. *Bar* בר frumentum. Gesenius remarks that the Latin *Far* is the same word (see an *ex.* of *Bar* in the last article).
234. **Lani,** Cornfields.—The meaning is manifest from the parallelism of the passages adduced in Art. 232. It appears that the Assyrians said *lani* for *lami* (so they changed N for M in many

other words). *Lami* would be the Heb. לחם 'Corn' (*triticum*, Ges. p. 529). Isaiah xxviii. 28 has לחם יודק the wheat is ground. The Greek λαϊον, ληϊον, a standing crop of corn seems related to *Lani*.

235. **Takhumu.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, the *Terms* of a treaty; or the *bounds, limits* of territory agreed upon therein.—Agrees exactly with the Chald. תחום terminus, finis; from the verb תחם terminavit, definivit, descripsit, &c. Examples from the Synchronous History, 2 R 65, 5: Butzur-Ashur (*i.e.* Rampart of Ashur) king of Assyria, and Burna-burias king of Kardunias (or Babylonia); itmu mizri takhumi, *wrote down the boundaries and limits of their countries*; annama ukinu, *and made a treaty of peace*. Again, l. 45: "The men of Assyria and of Kardunias, itti akhati mizru takhumu, *agreed with each other and defined their boundaries.*"

236. **Mutbara.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, a Desert.—Agrees exactly with the Heb. מדבר *medbar* or *mudbar*, 'a desert.' Mutbara azbat, *I marched into the desert.*—R 13, 45.










237. **Khuribta.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, a Desert.—Agrees with Heb. חרבת 'a desert.'

Khuribta azabta, *I marched into the desert.*—R 24, 28.









[*Azabta* and *azbat* are varieties of the same word.] I slew wild beasts in the desert, *in khuribti.*—R 14, 63. Spelt 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.






238. **Khinki.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, the Narrows: the narrow part of a river where it is confined between two hills.—Agrees with the Heb. חנק *khinek*, 'angustus fuit: strangulavit.' "I marched or went (*azbat*) until I reached the narrows of the river Euphrates," *khinki* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.—R 24, 30, and again line 44. Gesenius remarks that a great many Greek, Latin, German, &c., words contain this root ANK, such as angustus, angor, anxietas, ἀγγεῖν to hang, enge seyn, Angst, ἀγγεῖ (close to), &c. And in Hebrew itself חנק, חנק, חנק. It is a subject worthy of the attention of the philologist. There must be some natural cause that has induced so many nations to agree in employing this sound to express 'closeness' and 'tightness.'











1. If thou castest the lot of the king's death,
2. May it be false!
3. If thou castest the lot of his life,
4. May it be true!







The sign  is doubtless to be read *tal*, as in line 14 of the same page 16,   *tallik*, 'thou goest.' This value was first pointed out by Rawlinson, and is confirmed by Syllabary 563. *Lukul* probably from נבל 'to be false.' *Luskun*, 'may it hold fast!' 'may it be firm!' from שכן *stabilire*, 'to fix.' The P.C. word for 'death' was *durga*, 2R16, 42 and 2R17, 39, where it answers to the Assyrian verb   *imut*. *Talkâ* is from Heb. לקח, Gr. λαχειν. It appears to me that the single sign  *Mat* sometimes signifies 'death.' In 2R65, 45 we read "In the days of Salmanubar king of Assyria, (Marduk)baladan [or possibly Nebo-baladan] who was king of Kardunias died, and Marduk-mu-mu ascended his father's throne. 'He died' is expressed by    . . . *mat-su e* The verb, beginning with *e*, is unfortunately lost, and I am unable to supply the defect. The reign of Marduk-mu-mu is likewise commemorated on Salmanubar's Obelisk, line 73, but nothing is there said of his father's death.



240. **Marusta.** מר אר אר אר אר אר, Perilous, Awful.—Arrata marusta liruru-su, *may he curse him with awful (or perilous) curses!* R16, 76, where the last sign is אר אר אר. The meaning of the word appears from 2R17, col. ii. 27 and 55 and 56, where the comparison of the P.C. shows that *marusta* and *muruz* אר אר אר אר אר are both derived from the common adjective *marzu* ‘dangerous,’ of which the symbol is אר אר אר אר. The root *marzu* אר אר אר is found in lines 45 and 50 of the same column.
241. **Sutta.** אר אר אר אר, a Dream.—I propose this word for examination. The Hebrew is שנת *sunta*, but I think this was pronounced *sutta*, just as בנת ‘a daughter’ was pronounced בת *Bath* (dropping the N before a T); and in Assyrian from *laban* ‘a brick’ we have the very frequent word *libitta*

'bricks.' In the prayer 2R17, 28, which may be called the Assyrian Litany, we find the following clause: "Sutta nu damikta, *from dreams that are unholy (or unlucky) O king of heaven defend us! O king of earth defend us!*" The P.C. translation of this is fortunately preserved. *Nu damikta* is rendered     'not holy,' and    *Sutta* is rendered , which is known to mean 'a Dream.'

242. **Habarit.**   Antimony.—This word was first explained by Oppert (Exp. en Més. p. 344), but he reads it differently. Antimony is much used by women in the East, for darkening the eyes and eyebrows. I therefore think that the Assyrian name for it *Habarit* or *Habara* may be reasonably deduced from , which signifies 'blackness' (Sch. p. 518), induced by any cause on the flesh; also the black spots on a leopard's skin. Hence also the Arab. *hibar*  *Ink* (Sch. 520). Related to this is the Chald.  dark; obscured; drest in black, &c. (Sch. 420). A second example has been given by Norris from Botta 152, 16. I will add a third from 2R67, 62, where it occurs among the tribute paid by the kings of Syria and Palestine to Tiglath Pileser II.

243. **Urru.**  , a Day.—Agrees well with the Heb.  *lux*; for so the Latins say *una lux* for 'one day.' The Heb.  is also used for 'the Sun:.' and in several languages 'one sun' is equivalent to 'one day.'    I laboured day and night [at the building of my new city].—Sarg. 39 and Botta 37, 44, quoted by Norris, dict. p. 125. *Urru u musu*, *day and night* (broken slab quoted by Norris, p. 225). Moreover, in 2R25, 23   *Urru* is explained by  *Tamu*, 'a day.'

 Sarg. 39 is misprinted. The word should be   *Urra*; which is followed by    *u musha* [and night].


244. **Musish.**   *adv.*, by Night; see Art. 68.—Another example is found in Botta 87, 1, where it is said that Merodach Baladan escaped by night from Babylon. *Musish utzi*,

he fled by night; written $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎵}$. This verb appears to be one of the forms of the Heb. יָצָא (see next article).


245. **Utza**, to Fly for life; to Escape.—In corroboration of the preceding article I will observe that $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *utzu* appears to mean 'they fled' in the difficult passage R42, 23, of which I will attempt a translation, first remarking that 𐎶𐎵 has been corrected by Norris into *ana*, and that 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 sometimes stands for 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *dir*. "Munnadir-sun sha ana napshati utzu, ashar ibishadu uratsabu in esku: *the rest of them, who fled for their lives, I destroyed with arrows in a desert place.*" It appears that after the battle he pursued the fugitives with cavalry and overtook them in the desert. *Munnadir* I take to be a participial form of the Heb. נותר *nutar* (reliqui, *the rest*), which is from the verb נָתַר . *Ex.* "Thou shalt put six of their names on one stone and the six names of *the rest* (נותרים *nutrim*) on the other stone."—Exod. xxviii. 10.

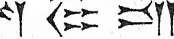
¶ If this verb possesses the causative or S conjugation, it will be *Sutza*. I think we may perhaps recognise this form in the word $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎵}$ *usutzu*, which occurs in the Behistun inscription, line 34. If we adopt Mr. Norris's reading *kikki* for the broken word (see dict. p. 486) we may read and translate the passage—As eli *kikki usutzu*, *they ran to their boats* [and crossed over to the other bank of the river Tigris. I followed them, &c.]. If this is correct the conjectures offered in the article *Diklat*, No. 111, become unnecessary, and the first part of that article may therefore be cancelled.



246. **Kakkabish**. $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *adv.*, Like the Stars.—Heb. כוכב *Cocab* 'a star.' "The shrine, or ark (literally *ship* or *boat*) of Kua, I adorned with bright spangles and precious stones like the stars of heaven (*kakkabish shamam*)."—E.I.H. iii. 10.
247. **Sumsut**. $\text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎵}$, Enslavement: reduction to servitude or submission.—In R51, col. ii. 21 the king prays for *sumsut nakiri*, 'the making foreign enemies to be his servants.' The word comes regularly from Ch. שָׁמַשׁ 'a servant.'

248. **Malmalish.** , *adv.* In common parlance; In conversation.—Heb. מלל 'to speak;' מלה 'a word.' Sargina's inscriptions contain much vituperation of his great enemy Merodach Baladan king of Babylonia. In Botta pl. 19 *bis* he says: "Taksuda rabtu kat-zu gimir mat-su rapashti malmalish itzutzu; *All his kingdom calls him the Grasper with the Strong Hand.*" Taksuda, a Spoiler or Tyrant, from the very common Assyrian root aksud, eksud, or kasad; to seize, take, obtain, attain. Itzutzu, 'they call him' (see Art. 161).

The phrase *malmalish itzutzu* occurs again on the Obel. l. 75. I have given the passage in Art. 161. Here *malmalish* is written

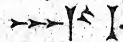
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249. **Tamish.** , *adv.*, like the Sun.—"The shrines (or images) of the gods 'tamish unammir,' *I made as bright as the Sun.*"—E.I.H. vii. 8. But very often the phrase is varied to 'kima tamu.' *Ex.gr.* Phill. i. 38. Bit kima tamu lu-nammir, *I made that temple as splendid as the sun.* So in Esarh. iv. 48: "I built ten large temples, and these *unammir kima tami.*" In an inscription of Sennacherib, R7, slab D, the verb is in the S or causative conjugation, 'kima tami usnammir,' *I caused it to be made splendid, &c.*

The Sun was worshipped at Heliopolis in Egypt by the name of Tum. I think the Egyptians borrowed that name from the Semites. *Tamu*  is 'the Sun,' but  *tam* without the prefix is 'a day.' So in Latin, *Sol* 'a day' (*tres soles erramus—Virg.*); and in Egyptian a circle with a dot in the centre means both 'the sun' and 'a day.'


250. Under this number I propose to collect a few additional remarks on some of the preceding articles:—

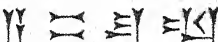
(No. 13) *Kuku.*—This bird may be the *Swan*, which is called in Turkish *kughu* (cognate with *Kukvos*).

(31) *Bul*, 'life'—"The king relied on thee, O Ninev! and in return thou didst firmly fix (or found) his life:" *tasharsidu bul-su.*—R17, 12, written .

(76) *Minuta*, 'number.'—R28, 28, "minut-zun itti minuti anniti:




their numbers (were placed) along with the former numbers." The king is speaking of his museum of animals, many of which were a present from the king of Egypt. It is said that all the specimens had 'names' and 'numbers' attached to them; and this in the 10th Century B.C.!

- (106) *Laban*, 'a Plain.'—This important word occurs again in 2R67, 8, 'iri birtu sha labbanat,' *fortified cities of the plain*, written .


- (136) *Baal*. Add the name of Abibal.  'Baal is my father;' unless it stands for Abdibal (servant of Baal).—R 48, 6. He was king of Ussiniruna (Samaria). Idolatrous kings then reigned in Samaria, which had been taken by the Assyrians some years previously. Manasseh was then reigning in Judah, Esarhaddon in Assyria.

- (149) *Mutninnu*, 'generous.'—In a passage quoted by Norris, dict. p. 468, "Sar mutninnu, rat illuri su," *whose feet are golden*. Another king uses the same phrase, saying that the feet of his throne are golden (see R35, 3), "usarsidu guza-su rat illu, *the gods placed his throne upon golden feet*." 'Ribitu (or Rihu) mutninnu,' the generous Ruler (Bellino, l. 2).

- (154) *Nimattu* occurs again (Botta 87, 2) amongst the plunder of Babylon, and can, therefore, hardly be the same as the *guza nimidi*.

- (157) *Nutarda*.—The Michaux Stones spell this word with the sign  instead of . This sign , or *Tar*, signifies 'a Chief,' as in *Tartan*; also a man of rank or condition.

- (170) *Nisikti* means not 'pearls' only, but precious stones in general. Perhaps derived from the Syriac נִסִּיכָה *nisikh*, clarus, nitidus, splendidus.—Schaaf's lex. p. 357.

251. *Lakitza*. , the city of Lachish.—The sculpture representing the capture of Lachish by Sennacherib has been well described by Mr. Layard (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 152). But the inscription is given erroneously, and the translation is not correct. I have, therefore, followed the text given in R, pl. 7, slab I: "*Sennacherib king of Assyria, as guza*

month (𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 arakh) for laying the foundation-stone of a City or a Building, and in which all (former) kings have begun their buildings." 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 signifies 'new,' which circumstance (whether accidental or not) would be a sufficient reason to a superstitious people for commencing new buildings in that month. *Nishat reshdu* is changed in another inscription to *malki sha kiprati*, 'kings of the nations.' *Rimiti* means 'foundations' or 'new buildings,' from Ch. 𐤓𐤓𐤕 'fundavit edificium, posuit, collocavit,' *ex.gr.* irmu subat-zun, *they built their dwellings*; and the derived word 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *nirmu* is equated to 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *ishulu*, 'foundation' (Heb. יסד) in 2 R35, 44. *Ipattak*, 'they began,' seems derived from Ch. פתח 'initium' (Sch. 1503).

255. Sandanish. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 <<, *adv.*, Continually.—This word, which had better perhaps be written *Tsandanish*, giving to 𐎶𐎵 its proper value *tsa*, Heb. צא, is derived, I think, from the Heb. צמד 'continue.' In R36 Sargon boasts of his numerous conquests. At line 21 he calls himself "Lihu pikhari sha in kabal tamti Yamnaia tsandanish kima nuni in ruba usipsikhu mat Kue u ir Tsurri; *Conqueror of the pirates of the Ionian sea, who like fishes are continually in their ships traversing the sea between the land of Cyprus and the city of Tyre.*"

Sargon felt a great interest in Cyprus, where he gained victories and erected tablets. It was at that time probably that he attacked the pirates who infested the neighbouring sea. *Lihu* 'conqueror.' Hence the name of King Ashur-lihu, otherwise Ashur-zu (Ashur the conqueror). Perhaps *liti* 'victories' may be hence derived. *Pikhari* I render 'pirates.' Observe, the printed text has *pikhari* and not *takhari*, which makes no sense. The origin of this word is unknown to me, I think it can hardly come from the Arabic بحر 'the sea.' Perhaps there was another form *Pikharati* or *Piharati*: if so, I think it may be a corruption of the Greek *πειρατης* 'a pirate.' The Greek sailors had a large share in the commerce of those seas, therefore many Greek words came into vogue and got mixed with the

Semitic. 'Like fishes' is a strange expression, but it must mean that they were so *continually* at sea that the Sea was, as it were, their native element, which would strike an Assyrian writer the more who, perhaps, never crossed the sea more than once or twice in his life. *Ruba* are Ships. *Usipsikhu* 'they traverse' is the *sha* conjugation of the Heb. פסח 'to traverse, to pass over.' We see a similarly formed word in the name of the city Thapsacus תפסח *i.e.* 'the passage,' where the great passage of the river Euphrates was situated (Ges. 832).




¶ The *Pikhari* must be *some class of persons*, for they are said 'to traverse the sea.' They cannot be peaceful navigators, for, since Sargina controlled both Cyprus and Tyre, merchants trading between those ports would not be his enemies.

















256. **Tammuz.** The Hebrew month תמוז.—All the Hebrew months are well represented by the Assyrian names given by Norris, dict. p. 50, with the exception of Tammuz, which is written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. This gives only *Duz* or *Duzu*. I think the difficulty may be removed by observing that 𐎶𐎵 sometimes has the value *dam*, which gives us the word *dam-u-zu* or *Damuz*.





257. **Talatti.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Birth.—In R 36, 60 Sargina dedicates one of the gates of his palace in gratitude to the Queen of the gods (*Billat-ili*) 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *murappishat talatti-su, she who caused his birth to be noble.* This goddess, the Assyrian Juno, like Juno Lucina, presided over births, allotting to each newborn child its good or evil fortune. *Talatti* like *Alatti* (see next article) comes from the Heb. ילד *natus est; genuit; peperit; τικτειν, γεννᾶν.*

258. **Alatti.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Birth.—This word occurs in a very important passage B.M. 38, 3, in the explanation of which I am obliged to differ entirely from my friend Mr. Norris, who sees in it a word *Agarin*, which he interprets 'mother' (see dict. p. 16). As I must dissent from this, I feel it necessary to explain at some length my reasons for doing so, lest I should appear to differ on light grounds from his opinion.

The kings often thank the gods for the great favour shown to them, in causing them to be born in so high a rank. *Ex. gr.* In Birs N, l. 10 Nebuchadnezzar says "The favour of Marduk the great Lord, *kinish ibn-annima*, created me of royal rank."

Ibn 'he created' is  from *bana* 'to create.' Very similar is the passage which occurs both in R43, 4 and in B.M. 61, 2 (except that we find  *ban* written instead of  *ibna*). "*Ashur father of the gods, in kullat maliki kinish ban-annima, gave me a noble birth among the assembly of kings.*"

Kullat 'assembly' is  'cœtus,' from Heb. קהל congregavit (Norris also reads this word as *kullat*). Similarly we read in pl. 114 of Botta: "*Yaati Sargina, I Sargina king of Assyria, &c., whom Ashur, in napkhar maliki kinish uttannima;*" using *napkhar* 'assembly' (from *pakhar* 'to assemble') instead of *kullat*, and the verb *utta* 'he created' instead of *bana* or *ibna*. The difficult passage B.M. 38, 3 has the same general meaning. Sennacherib there says:         ; *kinish ban-annima; uzabbá nabniti.* Now, in the first place, I must observe that Mr. N.'s transcript (in dict. p. 16) omits the important word  *rubu* 'royal,' and substitutes for it  *ib*. But Mr. Layard's annotation at foot of the page shows that he found on another copy of the Bull inscription the variant reading , which is an admissible variation of  and supports it; showing that  cannot be the true reading. We must, therefore, restore the word  'royal.'

We have seen in the preceding article that Sargina attributed his noble birth to the favour of     'the Queen of the gods.' Sennacherib now speaks of the same goddess, and calls her '*billat nabniti, Queen of Births. Nabniti*

'births' is from *nabna* 'to be born,' the Niphal of the verb *bana*. The last part of the line 'kinish ban*-annima' we have had before, and for 'uzabba nabniti' some of the other bulls read 'usarba nabniti,' *made my birth splendid*. The verb *sarba* means 'to exalt or glorify.' Thus on the monolith R27, 11 the gods are called 'musarbu sarti,' *exalters of my royalty*. The real difficulty of the passage, therefore, resides only in the phrase "the Queen of the gods, who is the Queen of Births, *in lib rubu бага talinni alatti-ya*," and indeed only in two of these words, *бага* and *talinni*. The first of these I believe to be a word of Indo-Germanic origin. There are not many such employed in the Assyrian language, but there are some indubitable instances, such as the preposition *In*; *Nin* for 'no one'; *Nu* for 'not'; *Tuki* 'fortune' or 'good luck.' The Persian adjective *takman* 'strong' is frequently used in Assyrian as 'biritu takmannu anbar atdi-su, *I cast on him strong chains of iron*.' *Basa* 'to dwell, be, exist,' is the Persian *bas* 'a dwelling'; *bash* 'being, living, existence,' from *bashiden* 'to dwell or be.' *Karra* 'a horse' is very unlike the Semitic *sus* סוס, but agrees with the Sanskrit *gora*.

Fortified by such instances of words borrowed by the Assyrians from their neighbours, I would suggest that *Baga* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is the Persian word *Bhag*, which is rendered 'Fortune, destiny, share, lot;' in Gilchrist's Vocab. p. 76. *Talinni* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. This word, I think, affords the key to the meaning of the whole passage. *Tala* תעלה 'she caused' is the feminine of the Chald. verb *ala* עלה 'to cause;' thence *talinni* 'she caused unto me.' *In lib* 'within' differs but little from the simple preposition *In*, only it is somewhat more precise. I translate the whole passage, therefore, as follows: "The Queen of the gods, who is the Queen of births, caused unto me *my birth* in a royal destiny;" or, in other words, and

* Pronounced *ibn*. The sign 𐎶𐎵 represents the verb *bana* in general, and any tense of it which the syntax requires.

slightly paraphrased, "My lot in birth, for which I thank the Queen of heaven, was to be born a king."

¶ With respect to the Syllab. 192, quoted by Norris, p. 16, where *agarin* is rendered by *ummu*, and also by a monogram, I must observe that this monogram is quite unlike the well-known monogram for 'a mother,' and therefore it probably expresses some other meaning of *ummu*.


259. **Parakku.** 𐎶 𐎶- 𐎶, a Chief; or perhaps a King.—In 2 R 31, there is a list of words, all of which mean 'a king,' and are rendered by 𐎶-𐎶 *Sar*. One of these is *Parakku* (l. 42). In Syllab. 255 *Parakku* is explained by 𐎶-𐎶, which means 'first in rank,' and by *Bara* 𐎶 𐎶-𐎶. Hence perhaps *Parakku* is derived from this word *bara* and *ukku* 'great.' In 2 R 35, 14, *parakku* is rendered 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 *pan pan* 'front of the front,' and 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 *dihu*, which means 'the front' (see Art. 120 of this Glossary). In line 52 of the same page 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 *ami parakki* is rendered in P.C. by 𐎶-𐎶, written twice (i.e. 'the very first') with other signs added which I do not understand. *Ami* I would translate 'men,' from the Heb. עַם 'populus,' unless it is short for *amilut* 'men.' These notices enable us to explain a passage which occurs in several inscriptions, *ex. gr.* R 37, 12 and R 43, 4, "eli gimir ami parakki usarbá eskuti-ya, over all kings Ashur raised high (or triumphantly) my arms."

¶ The meaning of 𐎶-𐎶 as 'king' or 'chief' is shown in the following phrase of tablet 124: 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶, as *ili sha shamami, barit? sha hakkari, to the gods of heaven and the first men of the earth.*

260. **Lulimu.** 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶, otherwise 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶, a King or Ruler.—In 2 R 31, 41 this word is rendered by *Sar* 'a king.' In B.M. 38, 2 and R 43, 2, Sennacherib is called *Lulimu irsu*, 'the noble king.'
261. **Amat.** 𐎶-𐎶 𐎶-𐎶, a Petition, Prayer, or Complaint.—When Nebuchadnezzar had offered a prayer to Marduk, he says: (E.I.H. i. 53) "Amat libi istihu, he granted the petition of my

under ground.' For, the clay cylinder was always carefully hidden, and protected as far as possible from spoilers and devastators, *ex. gr.* Ashtapat pili rabbati ashuru-su usaskir, udannin subuk-su, *with large flat stones I closed up the place of it, and I made its deposit secure.*—Bellino, l. 53. That the *Timin* was the *Cylinder* (not the *Platform*) appears from the inscription of Nabonidus, quoted in Norris's dict. 408: "Anabuhitiminna suati, *in the search for that Timin, I dug* (akthut) *three years in the diggings of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon.*" Had he sought for the *platform* only, it would have been found much sooner. The verb *buhit*, which occurs in the preceding passage, is the Chald. ܒܥܬܐ 'quæsit,' as was first observed by Dr. Hincks. In R16, 63 the word is spelt ܒܥܬܐ ܝܢܝܢ ܝܢܝܢ *timini*. "Whoever shall injure my stone tablets and my *timini*, may the gods destroy him!"

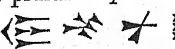
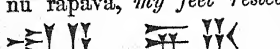
264. **Sikhib.** Spoil, plunder.—From the Heb. סִחִיב
‘rapuit.’ “Sikhib
mati kala nu, *the spoil of the land of every description.*”—
Tablet K 30, l. 21; see my paper in the Transactions of the
R.S. of Literature, ‘On a War in Syria,’ Vol. 8, p. 270. But
I will now give the passage more correctly :—
- 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 5. , &c. (as given before).



Bit tsir mutari mushabi-sun, *a great building which was their Hall of Sitzings (or House of Assembly)*,  usakhit-zu ibkidu ana ishati, *they (my soldiers) set on fire and burnt it down*; gai tsieni *the oxen, sheep, mules? and (.....): amilut ishluluni* *as la (mini) and the men they carried*

off as slaves in great numbers; sikhbi mati kala mu, the spoil of the land of every description [the rest is lost].

- ¶ I think סרפ 'rapuit' is connected with סרפ 'to sweep away.'
265. **Shapi Bel.** שפִּי בֵּל, Name of a city, meaning 'feet of Bel.'—But perhaps it rather means 'the footstool of Bel,' implying the humble and devout submission of the inhabitants. Esar. iv. 3: "*He came and kissed my feet; riemu arsi su, I had pity on him, usarakhits surruti, I gave him a golden bracelet [or, bound him with a chain of honour]. I strengthened the fortifications of the city Shapi-Bel, his fortress. Himself and his spearmen I left in peace within it [as libbi ushali-su]; and I made him like a column-tree [palm tree] of the land of Elam.*" The verb *ushali* is from שלח 'securus est, et prosperâ fortunâ utitur' (Ges.).

Edil su, עֲדִיל 'par, æqualis' (Sch. 1277). It does not appear who was the monarch or chief thus favoured, the commencement of the narrative being broken off. But whoever he was, he or his successor appears to have rebelled, for a tablet of Ashurbanipal, K 30 says "Dunanu king of the Bulu, who dwelt in the city of Shapi-Bel [spelt as before] allied himself with the king of the Susians and refused to bow down before me." After a short war he was taken prisoner by the Assyrians: see p. 272 of my memoir quoted in last article.

- ¶ I have treated of the word *Shabu* 'a foot' in Art. 107. It has the plural *shapa* as well as *shapi*: see 2R16, 31, where the P.C. , '(....) mu nu rapava, my feet rested not,' is rendered in Assyrian by  lá nikha shapa-ya. *Itrapava* 'quietus est' is a frequent P.C. word. Here we have the simple *Rapava* with the same meaning. *Nikha* is the Heb. נִחַח 'to take rest.'

266. **Khi.** , the Knees, in Proto-Chaldean, answering to the Assyrian *birki*, Heb. בֵּרֶךְ.—This meaning of  was, I think, first pointed out by Norris in his dict. p. 395. I will add a curious example from tablet K, 137, which seems to contain

'consilium' (which I think is not found in Hebrew). This word occurs in the interesting inscription on tablet K, 211. This is a public document, or decree, or letters patent, by which Ashurbanipal appoints Bulshaya, a nobleman of the city Kitsi to the office of governor of the palace. And he says that he does so > 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 'in bibil lib-ya,' *from the deep feeling (or desire) of my heart;* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 'milik ramani,' *and from my own impulse (or, of my own counsel.)* This is almost exactly what a modern king says when he decrees anything *ex motu proprio*. The first part of the phrase, 'in bibil lib-ya' is very common in the inscriptions. Norris renders *bibil* 'deep feeling, desire, wish,' dict. p. 70. The other clause I have not met with elsewhere. *Amtallik* 'I resolved,' is the T conjugation of the verb *malik* 'consulere.' *Rabish amtallik*, 'I nobly resolved.'—B.M. 41, 25.

270. *Izrat*. 𐎶𐎵 > 𐎶𐎵, a Clay Tablet.—From Heb. *tzur* צור 'fingere,' the same with the verb יצר, which Gesenius renders 'to mould clay as a potter does,' *finxit, formavit* (ut *figulus lutum*), whence יוצר *figulus* 'a potter.' There is an obscure line in Bellino (l. 36) which speaks of the first founders of Niniveh. They laid down, it says, the *timin* (or corner stone of the foundation). The next phrase is 𐎶𐎵 > 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *izrat-zu izratu-va, and they formed (or moulded) the clay tablet (or cylinder).*

I have found another example of this curious word in the much-defaced tablet 192 (otherwise 151a), which relates the foundation of some new building. The following phrases taken from it, being of familiar occurrence elsewhere, show the general meaning: *usalbin libittu's, I made bricks for it*; *ashli rabati misikhta-su amsukh, with a long rope I measured its measure*; *ussi-su atdi, I laid its foundations*; *ukin libnat-zu, and founded the building*. *Timin-su kireb subuk shadi dannu udannin, I made its 'timin' secure within a deposit of vast stones*. Here 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *shadi* are 'stones,' not even 'rocks,'

much less 'mountains.' The word bears all these senses according to the context and the subject. This last phrase strongly resembles l. 53 of Bellino, which says, speaking of the *timin*: "with large stones I closed it all round, and (*udannin subuk-su*) I made its deposit secure."

Then comes the phrase which I wish to point out.
 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 'itzira izrat-zu,' I moulded its clay tablet. Compared with Bellino 36, the difference is that here the verb is placed first, and takes the form *itzira* instead of *izratu*. *Itzira* is precisely the Heb. verb יצר.

271. **Uttu.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, a Parent; also plur. Parents.—In 2 R 40, 12 the word 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Utu* is explained by 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Aludi* 'a father, parent, progenitor.' The latter word is very common in the inscriptions, *ex. gr.* 'abi alidi-ya,' my father.

Examples of the word *Uttu*. In B.M. 33, 2 Sargina is called 'the noble king, whom Ashur and Marduk, his progenitors (*uttu-su*) have proclaimed the renown of his name to the end of the world.' In R 35, king 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is called "the king whom Ashur and (.....) his progenitors (*uttu-su*) 'malkut lashanan unallu gatús-su,' have filled his hand with (*i.e.* given him) an unequalled empire." Here we have 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *malkut* 'kingdom.' *Utta* also occurs as a verb, 'to create.' "I am Sargina king of Assyria, &c. &c., whom the gods have created (or caused to be born) nobly amidst the number of kings: yaati Sargina in napkhar maliki kinish utta-annima."—Botta, pl. 114, and again in pl. 65, 10. For *utta* other inscriptions give *ibna* 'he created,' or the monogram 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 which stands for *ibna*, or for any other tense of the verb בנה 'to create.' I also think that there is a connexion between *uttu* and *utdu*, which means 'origin' or 'spring;' *utdu-a* 'a spring of water, or fountain' is very common.

272. **Mishta.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Number.—R 19, 88: "I carried off as plunder his flocks of sheep, which, like the stars of heaven, had no number (*mishta la isu*). This passage is exactly the same as that quoted in No. 76 from R 24, 43, except that we

read there *minuta la isu*. *Mishta* is the Heb. *mishta* מִשְׁתָּ 'numerus' (Ges. p. 593).

273. **Mish.** <=> <<<, Numerous.—Related, like the last word, to the Heb. מִסְחָ 'numerus.' Syllab. 139 explains <=> <<< by ׀ ׀ <=> <=> ׀ ׀ *mahidut* (many), and also by the monogram ׀ <<<. This is very important, because it shows us plainly the origin of the plural sign ׀ <<<, which is composed of two parts, ׀ < *mi*, and <<< *ish*. In fact it is often written ׀ <<<; see four examples of this in an inscription of Nabonidus, R 68, lines 28, 29. This sign for the plural is not used, I think, in Proto-Chaldean sentences, because מִשׁ or *mish* is a purely Semitic root. The P.C. writers often doubled the word to express the plural; but the Assyrians wrote the word once and then added ׀ <<< *mish* (numerous). Hence we see the reason why the Assyrian inscriptions sometimes substitute the plural sign for the syllable *mish*.

Thus, for the Heb. חֲמִשׁ *khamish* (five) they write ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ <<<, i.e. *kha mish* (Norris, dict. 432). So also we frequently find <=> <<< ׀ <<< *ka mish* written instead of <=> <<< ׀ <<< or <=> <<< ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ *kamish* 'for ever:' see an example in Norris, dict. 504. This latter word is related to the Hebrew root קָם or קִים 'manere,' 'durare.'

274. **Udini.** <=> <<< <=> <<<, Eagles.—R 18, 50. ["On these pointed and most inaccessible mountains] *kima kinni udini-khu* as *kireb shadie dannat-zun ishkunu*, *they had built their strongholds like the nests of Eagle-birds among the rocks.*" *Udin* may be related to the Chald. דִּין *Din* 'vultures;' see Sch. 387; for eagles and vultures had often the same name.

275. **Ait.** <=> <<<, followed by <=> <<< (bird), an Eagle.—This seems to agree well with the Heb. עֵיט a large bird of prey, which as Gesenius says, is cognate with the Greek *Aeros*, and probably the same word. R 39, 68: "I made war on the people of the Tocharri, whose dwellings were built, like the nests of eagles (*kima kinni ait*) <=> <<< <=> <<< <=> <<< upon the highest summits and lofty crags of the Nypûr mountains."

Kinni is the plur. of Heb. *Kin* 'a nest' כֵּן, which also came to mean (exactly as in our text) a human habitation, perched like a bird's nest on a lofty and almost inaccessible cliff. Gesenius says, 'domicilium in altâ rupe extructum *instar nidi aquilini*,' quoting several texts of Scripture.—Numb. xxiv. 21, Jerom. xlix. 16, &c. Hence the people called Kenites in Scripture derived their name; see the prophecy of Balaam (Numb. xxiv. 21).—"And he looked on the Kenites and took up his parable and said: 'Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest (כֵּן) in a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted and Assyria shall carry thee away captive.'" The latter clause is well illustrated by the passage I have given from Rpl. 39. Smith's dict. of the Bible v. Kenite does not allude to the origin of the name, which is singular, since a common Bible has the note on Numb. xxiv. 21.—'This alludes to their ordinary habitations, which were strongholds in rocky mountains; hence they are called Kenites or nest-inhabitants.'

276. **Khibishti.** Beams. (See Art. 186.)—I have since found a Hebrew word which tallies better with the Assyrian, viz. כַּפִּים 'a beam holding together a wooden building.' (Furst's Lex.)

277. **Dima.** Peace, Tranquillity. (See Art. 139.)—In tablet K224 (or 183a) we find <Y>𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *dima* explained 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *salamu* or *salam* 'peace,' which agrees with what I have said in the Art. *Salmanubar*, No. 211. In same tablet there are some note-worthy translations, of which I will give one. The P.C. <Y>-𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 is rendered by the Assyrian 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ana pani-ya* (before me), where 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ta* answers to the Assyrian 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ana*; 𐎶𐎶 *mu* to the Assyrian pronoun 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ya* (my); and <Y>- to 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *pani* (before). The next line gives us the contrary phrase; where the P.C. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 is rendered by the Assyrian 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ana arki-ya* (behind me). The similarity of the two phrases is complete (observing that 𐎶 often means *ana*). Hence I conclude that the P.C. 𐎶𐎶 answers to the Assyrian *arki* 'after' or 'behind.'

278. **Tân** 𐎲𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.—When a word is terminated by these three letters, a Numeral is indicated, almost as surely as it would be in Greek by the termination *κοστος* or *κοσιος*. For example, the first line of Bellino's inscription begins with 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.—'One Sos and three;' i.e. Sixty-three [lines of writing]. In Opp. Khors. 19, 162 we have 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.—Six Sos and fifty, i.e. 410 [talents of shining brass]. On tablet K 268 we read 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.—Twenty *mukalim* or inscribed lines (this word probably comes from the Heb. קלע 'insculpsit'). But the letter T 𐎲𐎵𐎶 is sometimes omitted, and only 𐎶 𐎶.—left, to mark a numeral. Of this kind is the important passage which is often repeated in Sargon's inscriptions, "Sha 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶.—𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.—𐎶 malki labiruti sha illamu-ya billut Ashur-ki ebusu *Of 350 former kings who reigned over Assyria before me* [not one ever accomplished such works as I did, &c. &c.]. The origin of this mode of designating numbers is perhaps the following, in which I am guided by the analogy of the Greek and Latin. *Duplex*, *triplex*, *quadruplex*, &c. in Latin; *διπλους*, &c. in Greek, involve the idea of 'folding,' from *plicare*. This has been adopted into the English language, 'two-fold, three-fold, four-fold,' &c. So also in German. *Plex* is used in Latin even when it is quite unnecessary, *ex.gr.* 'quadruplices stellas,' *four stars*. It had become habitual; and its original meaning of 'folding' was lost sight of. Now, the Assyrian word-ending *tân* 𐎲𐎵𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.—appears to be the Ch. and Syr. ܬܢܐ *tana*, 'to fold,' hence 'to do again,' 'to repeat' (see Wright's Chaldee glossary to the book of Jonah, p. 45).
279. **Tisha.** 𐎶 𐎶, Nine.—Agrees perfectly with the Hebrew *tesha* תשע 'nine.' Nevertheless this word has hitherto passed unobserved by Assyriologists. It occurs in a remarkable passage in the inscriptions of Khorsabad (Opp. 19, 163). 𐎶 timmi irsi sutakhuti, *four long beams of Cedar*, sha tisha-tân kubur-sun, *which measured nine 'kubur' in length* [and

came from the mountains of Hamána, I placed over the lions at the four gates"].













N.B. There were eight lions in all, which were placed in pairs, on the right and left of each gate. Supposing the *kubur* to be an *opyvia* or expansion of the arms, the length of the Cedar beams will be 54 feet. The original text has $\text{I } \nabla \text{ } \Xi \text{ } \text{III} \text{ } \text{II} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \Xi \text{ } \nabla$.—*Kubur* is the Heb. כְּבֹד *adj.* 'longus;' *subst.* 'longitudo'—also כְּבֹד a measure of length, so called. The passage which we have been examining is many times repeated in the inscriptions of Khorsabad.

































280. **Irbitti.** $\text{III} \text{ } \Xi \text{ } \text{III} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I}$, Four.—Heb. אַרְבַּעַת in st. constr.—In 2R35, 39 *irbitti* is explained by the sign Ξ , which signifies 'four,' and never varies its form, consisting of four equal horizontal strokes. See another example in the next article, and spelt in precisely the same way.































281. **Shari.** $\nabla \text{ } \text{II} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{II} \text{ } \text{I}$, Gates.—Hebrew שַׁעַר 'porta.' Opp. Khors. 19, 164: $\text{II} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \Xi \text{ } \text{III} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \nabla \text{ } \text{II} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{II} \text{ } \text{I}$ 'ana irbitti shari,' at the four gates [I placed the lions].




















282. **Sanna.** $\lll \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I}$, Change, Renovation.—In an Ode to the Moon on tablet 155 we find $\text{I} \text{ } \lll \text{ } \Xi \text{ } \Xi \text{ } \lll \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I}$ 'On the 30th day is thy change!' I do not understand why the vowel Ξ precedes *sanna*; it seems to make it into a verb. *Sanna* is evidently the Chald. שָׁנָא *sana* 'to change.' The Moon $\rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \lll$ was called *San* or *Sin* in Assyrian, and the symbol \lll was chosen to denote the sound *san*, because it meant *thirty*, the number of days in each month. Elsewhere in same tablet we find $\rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \lll \text{ } \Xi \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \Xi \text{ } \text{III} \text{ } = \text{San ittissu}$, which I think means 'the Moon is renewed,' from Heb. הָדֵשׁ 'to be new;' while as a subst. הַיּוֹם means specially 'the day of new moon.'

283. **Ilatti.** $\Xi \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I}$, a Child.—From the same root as *Alatti* and *Talatti* (Art. 257 and 258). K 142 (or 111a) is an ode $\text{I} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I}$ to Nebo $\rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I}$ who is called $\nabla \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{III} \text{ } = \Xi \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \rightarrow \text{ } \text{II} \text{ } \text{I}$, shurbu ilatti Anu, eldest son of Anu. This name of Nebo $\rightarrow \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I}$

palu, is frequently abbreviated to  . I think it means 'Judge.' In the invocation to the great gods (tablet 100) Anu bears the title 'shurbu ilatti, *eldest son* [of Ashur father of the gods].' In the invocation to Ninev (R17, 2) he is called 'Ilatti bit kur' (child of heaven)      just as he is called      *aplu bit-khira*, 'son of heaven,' in R70, col. iv. 1.

284. **Sutta.**   , a Dream. (See Art. 241).—In tablet 140 (or 109a) there is a *kakama* (or ode, or prayer) to Nebo, in which the following line occurs,            "in mati musi, dimmika, suttu; in the land of Night, sleep, and dreams." I think this is a prayer to Nebo, in his character of judge of the dead. The sign  has the value *dim* and *salam* (which are now found to be equivalents). *Dimmika* is the Ch. Syr. ܕܡܝܬܐ *dimika* 'somnus profundus.' There is much about dreams in tablet K 254 (or 213b). It speaks of 'a good dream'    and of 'a god of dreams' called *Mashar?*               But I place little reliance on this, because tablet 155 gives him another name, perhaps *Zagar*.


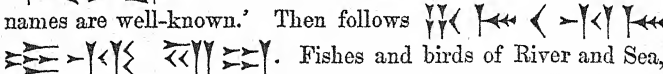
             Tablet K 273 is devoted to the subject of dreams. The word   occurs no less than seventeen times, in a vertical row, followed by various words which are perhaps the things dreamt of. Another example is found in a Gyges tablet K 228,                "tamu suttu annitu emuru, the day that he saw that Vision [he sent an ambassador to me to implore peace]."


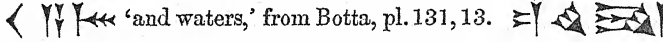
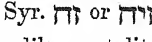
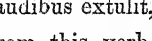
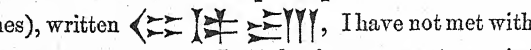
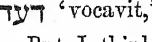
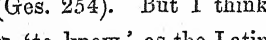
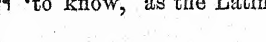
285.   , an Eclipse (further remarks, see Art. 98).—In the tablets there are found occasionally a sort of prayers which may be recited during an eclipse of the moon, without reference to any particular occasion, as is evident from the *month* and *day* being left blank. *Ex. gr.* tablet K 223 (or 182a)                

i.e. during an evil eclipse of the moon in the month (*blank*), day (*blank*). Instead of this we find in tablet 155, which is an ode to the moon (I 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵), the following phrase: During an evil eclipse of the moon which happened in the month 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 day 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 &c. &c. Now, comparing this with the former example, it seems likely that 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is an indefinite sign, and that the phrase would be in English "which happened in month (*so and so*), day (*so and so*)."
For, no real month and day could bear the same name, and be represented by the same sign. The same symbol occurs in other phrases which are meant to be left indefinite. *Ex. gr.* in tablet K 163 (or 131a) I 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 I, thy servant, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (so and so) son of (so and so). (It must be remembered that many of these tablets are mere exercises and *formule* of writing.) So, in French, '*un tel, fils d'un tel;*' and in Greek *ὁ δεινα τοῦ δεινός*. The symbol 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎵 which is its abbreviation, are different from that which is mentioned in this article, and seem to stand for 'pakhar' or 'takkil' (chosen, sealed, approved, or examined). But the study of these signs is intricate.

286. **Sikhu.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 Revolt. Chald. ܣܝܚܐ clamour, uproar, especially in public places in towns.—R 41, 5 "After Sutzubi revolted:" 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *itsikhu* 'he revolted.' Again in l. 12 of the same page, *usibsu sikhu*, 'he raised a revolt.' In 2 R 52, 25 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 'revolt in the city of Calah' (see several other examples in the same plate).

287. **Kurunnu.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, His Own. Their Own.—*Lat. proprius.* Gr. *ἰδιος*.—This important word appears to have hitherto escaped recognition. It is the Chaldee ܟܪܢ *kurun*, 'ipse, ipsemet, idem ipse,' see Sch. 899 and Buxt. 1095. In Opp. Khors. pl. 20, first line, Sargina speaks of the curious and beautiful birds, beasts and fishes, of which he had formed a collection in his new palace. *Sattik* birds [perhaps parrots *psittacus*]; *Ustur* birds [perhaps ostriches, called *ustur* or *shutur*—

bird in Persian]. To these is added the phrase  *summi izkhit*, 'of well-known names,' or 'whose names are well-known.' Then follows . Fishes and birds of River and Sea, 'sha la isu midita kurunnu,' which have not any names of their own [and which are found in the lands and waters at the end of the world].

In the last phrase, correct in Oppert's text  into  *izkhit* 'well known,' 'celebrated,' from Ch. and Syr.  (see Bernstein lex Syr. p. 144,  *Zikhrit* or *izkhit* is a participle from this verb. *Midita* (names), written , I have not met with this word elsewhere. It comes, I think, from  'vocavit,' which is the Arabic  'vocavit' (Ges. 254). But I think this root must be connected with  'to know,' as the Latin *nomen* is with the verb *novit*.

I will now give another example of the word *Kurunnu*; I have several times attempted to elucidate the curious accounts which we find here and there concerning the sittings of an Assyrian Parliament, or rather perhaps what is now called in the East a *Durbar*. It lasted fourteen days (perhaps an indication that they counted time by *weeks*). I will at present only advert to the few lines concerning this assembly contained in the inscription of Esarhaddon, col. vi. l. 33 to 45 inclusive. After describing the grandeur of the New Palace which he had just caused to be built at Niniveh, he says: "*There I assembled the great men of my Empire, the noblemen and the commoners of my land, all of them On lofty chairs I caused them to sit, and I counted their numbers. Presidents of their own they chose to rule over them. I did not impose on them any Chief of the Assembly. By the grace of Ashur king of the gods, and the gods of Assyria, all of them, in full assemblies, with intelligent minds, with much honour, and abundant profit may they ever continue to assemble within it! And so may the glory of this*

Palace endure !" Two of these lines I wish to select for more particular examination, viz. lines 39 and 40 :—






1.  2. 



1. Tarin ? kurunnu bikira tsurra-sun ;

2. Nisak nigu(t) lá eli-sun usakin.

1. *Officers of their own they chose to rule over them ;*

2. *A Chief of the assembly I did not impose on them.*

Let us examine these words. The first is a slight variation of the common symbol for an officer .—*Kurunnu*, 'their own.' *Bikira* 'they chose,' Heb. בָּחַר 'elegit.' *Tsurra*, preposition 'over,' is very frequent.—*Nisak*, Ch. נִסִּיק 'princeps.' *Nigut* is written  , which has no meaning that I am aware of, but I suspect that the letter  *ut*, has been lost, probably because the two strokes with which it commences blended themselves indistinguishably with the two which terminate the preceding letter . *Nigut* is 'an assembly of the people,' *ex. gr.* B.M. 34, 20, 'Nigut ashkun,' *I held an assembly* [and I counted the number of the people of Assyria]. Similarly in Botta, pl. 8, last line, 'ashtakan nigut,' *I held an assembly*. *Usakin* is the S conjugation of *ukin* 'I imposed,' a very common verb.

288. **Akin.**  , an Envoy, or Representative.—Norris has given one example of the word (dict. p. 30). I will add another from Botta, pl. 163, 12: "[That king] iskhutu, *was much terrified? ispa guza iddi, he flung down his sceptre and throne; as pan Akin-ya unasak hakkaru, and kissed the ground before my Envoy. Duri, his fortresses, (.....) to destroy them, akbi-su, I commanded him. Imgura kibitti, he obeyed my command. Riema arsi su, then I showed him mercy.*" In fact, he performed the *Ko-too*, as it is called in China, or prostrating

the head in the dust before the Emperor's image, or his envoy. One or two words are effaced. Perhaps we should read 'ana napali akbi-su,' *to throw them down I gave command*; as in Art. Napal, No. 223.

289. **Ussha.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, the Foundations of a Building.—Chal. 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍, Ezra iv. 12. We find also 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍, fundamenta domūs.—Isaiah xvi. 7. This word is extremely common, but its spelling varies very much. In B.M. 33, 17, and R42, 61, and R50, 21, and Monolith l. 11, it is 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Ussha*. In Sarg. 51 it is 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Usshae*. In Tig. vi. 29 and Sarg. 61 it is 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ussi*. In B.M. 33, 14 and Opp. Khors. line 132 it is 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ussu*.

This word occurs continually in the phrase "*from its foundation even unto its summit I built it and I finished it.*" I will add two examples, in which the word has been overlooked. Sarg. 61 speaks of the first foundation of Niniveh: "The god Ninev, who laid the *timin* and the *ussi* of its *shalkhu* [citadel] in ancient times, now long past." Ninev mukin timin ad'ussi ana labar tami rukuti shalkhu-su. *Adussi* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is only a rapid pronunciation of 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (and the foundations). *Adi* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 often signifies 'and,' see Norris, dict. 18.—The other example occurs in the account of the nocturnal escape of Merodach Baladan from the besieged city of Dur-Yakina (see Opp. Khors. 15, 132); I have already translated a portion of it in Art. 120 of this Glossary. *Edish ipparsidu*, he escaped alone; *dikhi dur-su izbatu*, clinging to the front wall of his palace; *kima suratsa*, like a lizard (or reptile); *eruba* (.....), and reached (.....) [the last word is injured]. To this translation it has been objected that the text, as published by Oppert, gives *surani* and not *suratsa*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 instead of 𐎶𐎶𐎶. But these signs are often mistaken one for the other in the published texts, and even in the originals. And I think that the word *suratsa* (Heb. שׂרָץ a reptile) occurs twice in 2 R17, which is a prayer against all manner of evils. At line 24 we read 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *sharatzu muruz*, *from*

dangerous serpents; marti muruz, from their dangerous venom; [may the gods of heaven and earth protect us!]. I will first consider the word $\text{𐎢𐎵𐎶} - \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *marti*, 'poison.' This is the Ch. Syr. and Arab. ܡܪܬܐ or ܡܪܬܐ *marta*, the poison of a serpent [Sch. 1033 *venenum serpentis*]. In Job xx. 14 we read ܡܪܪܬ *murat* 'the poison of asps or vipers.' *Muruz* 'dangerous,' occurs often in this plate; it is nearly the same as *marza* and *marusta*, see Art. 240. The sign 𐎢𐎵 has often the value *shar*, see an instance which I have given in Art. 201, where $\text{𐎢𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ reads *sharut*. But instead of $\text{𐎢𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ *sharatzu* 'reptile,' the P.C. version of this passage has $\text{𐎢𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *suratsi*. I therefore think that $\text{𐎢𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *kima suratsa*, 'like a reptile,' is the true reading in Opp. Khors. 132. Let us now go on with the rest of the passage. The last clause is *eruba*, 'he reached,' $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, which gives no sense. But Norris observes (dict. p. 34) that the letter 𐎶 is 'half gone,' and he proposes to read 𐎶 *li* instead of it. I think, however, that we should read $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *di*, which gives an excellent sense. *Eruba* 'he reached' $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ *adi ussu* 'unto the bottom, or basement of the building.' The whole passage then becomes exceedingly clear. "He escaped alone, clinging to the front wall of his palace, like a reptile (or lizard). And he reached the bottom in safety." It appears to me that my version of 'the king's escape' is greatly confirmed by these words "*adi ussu*," discovered after the translation was published; much more so than if they had been seen at first; because subsequent corroborations are always more valuable. The next clause after this commences a new subject. "I took the city of Dur-Yakina with immense spoil and many captives—I burnt it down—I carried off its *timin* or foundation-tablet ['corner stone,' Opp.] and I left it a heap of ruins."

290. *Ussish*. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, *adv.* 'from the foundations.' "Ussish ebus, I built [that temple] *from the foundations*." Nabon. II, 1 (R 68). Derived from *ussha*, see last article.

291. **Kue.** 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎵 = 𐤊𐤍, Cyprus.—But the name is much more like the *Kωoi*, the inhabitants of Cos. Can it be that the race of the *Kōi* originally spread over all the islands of the *Ægean*, and that they are the *Gu-i*, 𐤂𐤍 of the Hebrews, commonly translated 'gentiles'?

¶ No certain etym is known for the *Ægean* sea (*To Aiyaiou*, Herod.). But its islands were called in the Hebrew (see Gen. x. 5) 𐤀𐤂𐤍 𐤂𐤍, which in Greek letters, and making the change which the Greek language requires, differs but little from *Aiyaiou*. The Phœnician sailors may have given the name and the Greek sailors adopted it.

¶ The recently discovered bilingual inscription called the Decree of Canopus speaks (l. 9) of "*the country of Kaft*." This is translated in the Greek *Φοινικη*, Phœnicia. This throws a new light on the name of that ancient people. For, why was Phœnicia called "*the land of Kaft*?" Nothing can be simpler. *Kaft* signifies a Palm-tree, which was the chosen emblem of that country. The Greeks translated the name. In their language a palm-tree was *φοινίξ*; they therefore called the country *Φοινικη*. כַּף or כַּת has two meanings in Hebrew, (1) *Palma*, i.e. a Palm-tree; (2) *Palma*, i.e. the Hand. The Latin word has the same double meaning, which is an interesting fact; but what is still more curious is that *δακτυλοι* 'fingers' also mean 'dates' (the fruit of the date-palm). See Arist. Meteor. i. 4, 10. Hence modern botanists call the date palm *Phoenix dactylifera*. But lexicographers, being seldom botanists, have not understood why a 'hand' and a 'palm-tree' had the same name. The reason is this—the common palm of the Mediterranean coasts is a low-growing shrub whose leaves are *digitate*, i.e. they expand like the fingers of the hand from a central origin somewhat like a fan, and therefore called the 'fan palm' (*Chamærops Humilis* of botanists). This common sort gave the name to the whole tribe of palm trees. In Is. ix. 13 and xix. 15, 'high and low' or 'noblemen and common people' are poetically called *kaft u agmon*, i.e. 'the palm-tree and the rush' (Gesenius).

ART. II.—*On Indian Chronology.* By J. FERGUSSON, Esq., F.R.S.

[Read February 15, 1869.]

EVERY one who has turned his attention to the study of Indian antiquities will probably be inclined to admit that one of the most important desiderata at the present time is a scheme of Chronology which shall fix, within reasonable limits of error, the dates of the various kings or dynasties who ruled between the Christian Era and the Hegira. It is not at present indispensable that any particular king's reign should be ascertained within ten or twenty years of deviation either way; but it is hopeless to attempt to understand the subject while we cannot make up our minds whether the Balabhi kings dated their inscriptions from their own Era or from that of Vikramāditya—a difference of 376 years—or whether the Guptas dated theirs before or after the Era bearing their name (318–19 A.D.). While such discrepancies as these exist, it is idle to suppose we can either understand the history of the Hindus, or appreciate the forms of their arts, or the development of their religions.

Finding that such men as Lassen, Cunningham, Thomas, and Dowson among living investigators—to say nothing of those who have passed away—agreed to differ by such wide margins, I believed the problem insoluble with the means now at our command, and felt inclined to wait some happy discovery which might free us from our perplexity. When, however, I undertook to write my recently published work on the Topes of Sanchi and Amravati, I found it necessary to go over all the available data with more care than I had hitherto bestowed on them, and the result has been, that the conviction was forced on me that the books we now possess, combined with the coins that have been collected and the inscriptions that have been translated, do suffice for the construction of a

chronological table for the period above indicated, which may be sufficiently accurate for present purposes, at least, though not absolutely correct in detail.

Notwithstanding this, I am far from pretending that I consider the task easy, or that everything I am about to advance will appear as clear to others as to myself, or that future discoveries may not modify some of the data on which my conclusions are based. Indeed, when I see such a man as Professor Lassen, with all his vast learning and untiring industry, fail in the task, I cannot but feel some hesitation in attempting it. That he has failed, and failed entirely, I, at least, feel certain, because in what I am now about to put forward I differ from him in every date—almost without an exception—and if he is right in his mode of reasoning, I certainly am wrong throughout. A great deal, however, of the discrepancy that exists between us may, I believe, be accounted for by the fact that the Professor is entirely ignorant of both architecture and archæology as applied to the subject.¹ I am sorry to think he is far from being singular in this respect, while I, on the other hand, feel certain that in such a case as India, the architectural remains are in most cases the best, and in some, the only evidence that is available for the determination of either historical or ethnographical problems. All this has become more and more evident every day since the investigation was first attempted; and now that we know absolutely that stone architecture commenced, in India, under the reign of Aśoka, we have a fixed initial date from which to start. From that point we can trace it, as bit by bit the original wooden forms were replaced by others of more lithic character, till a perfectly original style of stone architecture was elaborated; and we only require a final and one or two intermediate dates to enable us to graduate our chronometric scale, and, by its application, to fix within narrow limits the date of any king whose name happens to be engraved on any cave or temple in the

¹ In the whole 5000 pages to which his *Indische Alterthumskunde* extends, less than 50 are devoted to this subject, and they are the mere jottings of his note-book, printed without system or arrangement, as things that must be alluded to in an encyclopædic work like his, but as of very little value for any purpose.

land. In addition to this, combined, as architecture always is in India, with sculpture and painting, it affords by far the best test of the ethnography of races, and the most vivid picture of the religion and civilization. All this is unsuspected by Professor Lassen, and, indeed, by most investigators; but till it is grasped and elucidated, the history of mediæval India must always, I fear, remain the confused jumble it now unfortunately presents.

As many of the more important conclusions arrived at in the following pages are derived from a careful study of Hiouen-Thsang, and the Chinese travellers who visited India in the seventh century, it will be convenient to begin at that end of the story, and having gained a firm base there, to work backwards. In order to do this, however, it is first necessary to fix the dates of their travels as nearly as possible. This can be done with some precision from the "*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang par Hoeï-li*," translated by Stanislas Julien, and published in Paris, 1853.¹ The other work, entitled "*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*," or the "*Si-yu-ki*," translated by the same author, and published 1857, also affords considerable assistance in this enquiry.

According to the Hoeï-li, Hiouen-Thsang left China in the year 629, in the 26th year of his age,² and reached Kashmir apparently in the following year.³ Here he resided two years,⁴ and, if we add together all the indications in the work, seems to have taken, at least, two years to reach Nālanda; but being interrogated there how long he had been on his travels, he replies, three years.⁵ Assuming this to mean in India, it would place his first visit there in 633-4. Here he resided five years,⁶ and then set out on his travels south, 638-9. Two years were so occupied, and he returned to Nālanda 640-41. The latter date is fixed by a story he himself tells. He narrates that, while there, a man appeared to him in a vision and told him

¹ In the text I purpose to distinguish these works as the Hoeï-li, the other as the Si-yu-ki; but in the notes it will suffice, as is done in the French, to call the first, vol. i.; and the second, vols. ii. and iii. of H.T., as short for Hiouen-Thsang.

² H.-T. i. 14.

³ H.-T. i. 90.

⁴ 96.

⁵ 147.

⁶ 171.

that, in ten years from that time, the King Śīlāditya would die, and his biographer adds that this event took place in 650;¹ but for this, I would be inclined to place his second visit to Nālanda in 642-3, because the great meeting at Allāhabad² took place when he was there, and the narrative would lead us to suppose that immediately after it was over, he returned straight to China. If this is so, his journey could hardly have occupied one year, and he reached his native land in 645.³

If we felt certain that the dates in the two works above referred to were abstracted from his note-books as he wrote them down during his journey in India, it would be very important to try and settle these points definitively; but as we do not feel sure that they were not inserted by himself or his editors after his return to China, all that is requisite here is to call attention to it. It is an element of uncertainty which may necessitate an adjustment of dates to the extent of a few years in some instances. In the following pages I purpose to assume the dates referring to particular places as written in India in the years in which he visited these places, as above indicated.

Before proceeding to examine the data given us by the Chinese travellers, there are two remarks it may be useful to make in order to render what follows more intelligible. The first is that in India there were three ranks of kings. First, Râjas, or simple princes; Mahâ-Râjas, who would rank as kings in Europe; and Mahârâja Adhirâjas, kings of kings, or emperors. The title is identical with *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων* of the Greeks, or Shahan Shahi of the Persians, and was used in India from the Greek times till probably the Mahomedan conquest. This would hardly be worthy of remark, but for one circumstance. There might be any number of Râjas or Mahârâjas contemporary with one another, but only one Adhirâja or Emperor could exist at one time. The consequence is, that whenever we find a king adopting this title, we know that he was, or at least, assumed to be king of the five Indies,

¹ H.-T. i. 215.² 252.³ 292.

divisions, which would correspond very nearly with the four Presidences into which we have divided India, if the Nizam's and surrounding states were erected into a fifth. The consequence of this is that no two emperors could be contemporary with one another, and that whenever we can trace the dignity from a king in one family to one in another, we know that we have a true succession, and an historical sequence of the utmost importance. Sometimes these emperors resided in Magadha, at other times at Canouge or Ougein, and at one time at Kalyan,—but always in succession; and I hope to be able to trace the title, at least, from the second half of the fourth century till 733, which last is the lower limit to which I at present intend to extend my researches.

The second point to which I wish to draw attention, is the practice of Indian kings to assume the names of their grandfathers, when they have been illustrious. In some lists, like the Balabhi and Châlukya, this constant alternation of name is sometimes very perplexing, as no number or other distinguishing mark is affixed as would be done in Europe. In other cases, however, it is sometimes useful; as when we find two kings of the same name occurring very near each other in the same list, we may feel pretty sure that the latter stood in the relation of the second generation to the first, and this occurs even when the seat of power was changed, if the succession was direct.

We shall have frequent occasions to refer to these peculiarities in the sequel, but the first name with which I propose to deal is as good an example as could be found for illustrating them.

During the whole time that Hiouen-Thsang was in India, Śîlāditya was on the throne of Canouge, then the principal kingdom in the north of India. The date of his death has already been given as 650, but if we may trust Ma-twan-lin,¹ this should be slightly modified. He relates that when the Emperor of China, in the year 648, sent an ambassador to Magadha, he found that king Śîlāditya was dead, and his minister, O-lo-na-shun, had taken his place. It is possible

¹ J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 69.

this may have been in 649, so the difference is not much. The date of his accession may be fixed as closely. Hiouen-Thsang tells us—in the first instance not very distinctly¹—that he had reigned thirty years at the time of his visit; but he afterwards confirms this by quoting a speech of the king himself to our pilgrim, on his taking leave of him on his return to China (640). On this occasion the king expressly states that he had reigned thirty years, and confirms it by stating that it had been his habit to hold a great assembly every five years. He had held five such, and now invited Hiouen-Thsang to assist at the sixth.² We may, therefore, safely date his accession in 610. From Hiouen-Thsang,³ but more especially from the Châlukya inscriptions,⁴ we learn that Śīlāditya was engaged in a life-long struggle for dominion with Pulakeṣi, the founder of the kingdom of Kalyan, who succeeded in establishing his power in Central India the year before Śīlāditya's accession,⁵ or in 609.

These wars are graphically described by Ma-twan-lin. "In the years 618 and 627," he says, "there were great troubles in the kingdom. The King Śīlāditya made war and fought such battles as had never been seen before. The elephants were not unsaddled in their rapid marches, the soldiers quitted not their shields, because the King had formed the project of uniting the four Indias under his rule. All the provinces *which faced the north submitted to him.*"⁶ But from this admission it is clear that Pulakeṣi still held his own in the south; we now understand why Śīlāditya was forced to forego the title of Adhirāja, and how Pulakeṣi was entitled to claim it, as he does in his inscriptions, as we see presently.

Although both our Chinese authorities call this King throughout their narratives Śīlāditya, both in the Hoei-li⁷ and Si-yu-ki,⁸ it is stated categorically, "Le roi actuel est de la caste de Vâisyas"—"son nom," or "il a pour surnom

¹ H.-T. ii. 251.

² H.-T. i. p. 251.

³ H.-T. i. 203.

⁴ J.B.B.R.A.S. iii. 203 *et seq.* ⁵ Madras Journal, xx. p. 81; J.R.A.S. xx. 253.

⁶ J.A.S.B. vi. 68; H.T. ii. 251. "Il accepta alors le héritage de la Royauté, se désigna lui même par le nom de Prince Royal (Koumârarādja) et prit le titre de Śīlāditya." His real name we were just told was Harshavardhana.

⁷ H.-T. i. 111.

⁸ H.-T. ii. 247.

Harchaverddhana," and he is so designated by Pulakeṣi; nor is it difficult to see why he changed it. His grandfather was Śīlāditya of Malwa, whom Hiouen-Thsang describes in such glowing terms as a good and excellent Buddhist king.¹ The latter reigned fifty years, viz., from 530 to 580.²

Between these two Śīlādityas, were two reigns. First, that of Śīlāditya's elder brother, who was slain by Śaṣanka, King of Karna Souvarṇa (apparently part of Burdwan and Bancorah), in 610; and the father of these two brothers, Prabhākara-varddhana.³ We have no means of apportioning the thirty years at our disposal between these two, but we shall probably not err far in giving twenty-five years to the first and five to the second. We may also feel tolerably certain that no other king intervened between the two Śīlādityas, not only in consequence of the name, but because Prabhākara is expressly called by the ministers of his son "notre premier roi."⁴

Before Śīlāditya of Malwa we come to the celebrated Vikramāditya of Ougein, who figures so largely in all the mythical histories of the Hindus. It is true we only learn this inferentially from Hiouen-Thsang. He calls him King of Śrāvastī,⁵ but as the transaction to which his story relates took place in the north of the Punjab, then under his rule, it is evident he was King, at least, of northern India, and the account which Hiouen-Thsang gives of his splendour and extravagance, clearly identifies him with the Hindu hero. We learn also, notwithstanding all our author says of him, that he was of the Brahminical faith,—inasmuch as he allowed his priests so to oppress Manorhita that he cut out his tongue, or had it cut out for him, which is more probable. He then goes on to tell us how his memory was avenged by Vasubandhu, in the reign of a good and pious prince, the successor of Vikramāditya, who can hardly be

¹ H.-T. i. 204.

² H.-T. i. 205.

³ H.-T. i. 112; ii. 247.

⁴ H.-T. ii. 248. M. Re naud must have read his Hiouen-Thsang very carelessly when he wrote the paragraph quoted by Mr. Thomas, J.R.A.S. vol. xii. p. 44, in which he invents another Harsha between Prabhākara and Rājavarddhana, and makes the destruction of the dynasty 607. No such person existed except as our Śīlāditya, and the catastrophe took place 648-50—not in 607 at all.

⁵ H.-T. ii. 115.

other than our friend Śilāditya¹ of Malwa. It is quite true all this is not stated by Hiouen-Thsang so consecutively that it would stand examination in a court of law; but I think any one reading his volume carefully would admit that it is the most probable version of the story. The proof of it, however, and of the earlier names in the subjoined list, rests in the evidence of the Rāja-Tarangīnī, and other authorities, to which we will refer presently. Meanwhile, I propose to adopt the following as a tentative chronology of the period.

Vasudeva.

Cotem. Bahram Gour, 420-440

Vikramāditya I. - - 447 (?)

Harsha.

M.A.² Vikramāditya II. - - 495

M.A. Śilāditya of Malwa - - 530

M.A. Prabhākara - - 580

M.A. Rāja Varddhana - - 605 (?)

Śilāditya of Canouge - 610

Died - 648-650

I know no reliable authority for the length of the reign of Vikramāditya the Great, or second of the name, and have therefore adopted Professor Wilson's estimate of 35 years.³ For our present purpose this, however, is of very little consequence. The first three names stand at present as mere conjectures.

Balabhi and Chālukya Dynasties.

The two dynasties whose dates we next propose to examine, are almost wholly unknown to Indian literary history, and we should hardly know of their existence—certainly not of their importance—had it not been for a fortunate propensity they had to perpetuate their own glory and goodness by inscribing their history on copper plates when making grants to Brahmins and others. Sir Walter Elliot was the first to perceive the value of these, in so far as the Chālukya family were con-

¹ H.-T. ii. 118.

² Throughout I propose in the lists to distinguish those kings who were Mahārājas Adhirājas, with the capitals M.A.

³ Asiatic Researches, xv. p. 87.

cerned, and in 1837 published a most valuable resumé of the result of his researches in the fourth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. This he afterwards supplemented in the twentieth volume of the Madras Journal, and Major—now General—Le Grand Jacob has added immensely to our stores of knowledge regarding them, in the third volume of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society. Fortunately, the Châlukyas dated all their inscriptions in the Śaka era, so there is no dispute whatever about their dates, except in the case of Pulakeṣi I.

The Balabhi branch were not so fortunate. Their copper plate grants were first brought to light by Mr. Wathen, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, in August, 1835. At first, the figured date of the plate first published was taken for 9, and then assumed to be in the Balabhi Samvat, 318; but when it turned out to be really 330, he and all other chronologers since have made up their minds that it must date from the Vikramāditya Samvat (57 B.C.).¹

My conviction is, the idea of dating the copper-plate grants from the Vikramāditya Samvat, would never have occurred to anyone had it not been for a mythical history of Balabhi which Colonel Tod obtained from Jaina sources, and unfortunately published in his Annals.² Without dwelling on the earlier parts of this myth, the great fact he seeks to establish is that Balabhi was destroyed by the Parthians, 524 A.D., in the reign of a Śilāditya, its last king. Its inhabitants were slaughtered with the usual romantic incidents; but after a while a remnant established themselves in Sidhapore, and finally built a new capital, which they called Anhulwara.—!

The utter falsehood of the information so supplied to Colonel Tod is proved by the fact, that when Balabhi was visited by Hiouen-Thsang, 115 years after its reputed destruction, he found it not only standing, and neither Sidhapore or Anhulwara thought of, but the old capital still remaining the richest and most prosperous city of India, and its king one of the three greatest kings of northern India. The king's

¹ Thomas' Prinsep, vol. i. p. 257 *et seqq.* where all the evidence is collected together. See also a paper by Professor Dowson, J.R.A.S., vol. xx. 1, 47 *et seqq.*

² Vol. i. p. 216, *et seqq.*

name was Dhrovapatou, and he was a nephew or grand nephew of Śilāditya of Malwa, and the son-in-law of Śilāditya, the reigning king of Canouge.¹ Lastly, we have the dates in copper plates of a Dhruvasena, one in $310 + 318 = 628$, the other $332 + 318$, or 640 ,² the very year that Hiouen-Thsang met him at Allahabad, if we assume them dated from the Balabhi Samvat. Against this view of the case I cannot find one single argument that will stand examination, since I think there is no doubt that we must put on one side those derived from Tod's statements, which have just been shown to be worthless. In addition to this, it may be remarked that nothing can well be more improbable than that the kings of Balabhi, reigning in that city, should employ any other Samvat than their own. This era was sufficiently important and well known to be quoted as one of the principal eras of India in the Somnath inscription in 1263,³ A.D., and was also quoted in the same sense by Albīrūnī in the eleventh century.⁴ If it was known and quoted as important so long afterwards, it does seem inconceivable that it should not have been used by the Balabhi kings themselves. I may add that the style of composition, and the evidence of the character, all seem to me, in so far as I can judge, to indicate the seventh century, though that may be a matter of opinion.

To this we will return presently; but, meanwhile, assuming that all the Balabhi grants are in the local era, we have, according to Wathen, for Śrī-Dharasena I., the date $330 = 648$;⁵ or according to Bhau Daji,⁶ Dharasena I., $310 = 628$ A.D. We have, according to the longest list, six names before Śrī-Dhara to Bhaṭṭāraka, the progenitor of the race, and allowing twenty years to each, which is more than they probably are entitled to, this would take us back to 528⁷ for the earliest date of the Balabhi dynasty, if we adopt Wathen's date, or 508 if Bhau Daji's. By the same calculation from Dhruva we can only stretch them back-

¹ H.-T. i. 206; iii. 162, H.T. *loc.*

² Tod's Annals, vol. i., p. 801.

³ Thomas *loc.*

⁴ J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. viii. 245.

⁵ Thomas' Prinsep, i. p. 269, etc.

⁶ J.B.B. R. A. S., viii., 245.

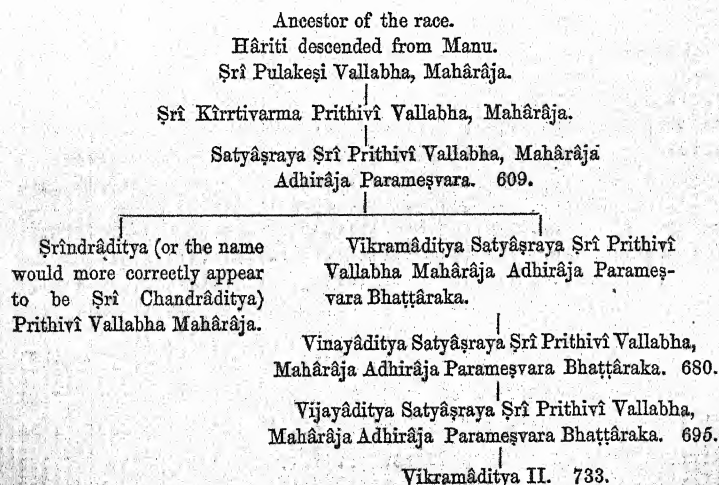
⁷ This so near Tod's date for the destruction of the dynasty, that I cannot help fancying the Jama Annalist mistook the overthrow of the dynasty they superseded for that of their own dynasty.

wards to 568; but by no process can we, I fancy, carry the origin of the Balabhis beyond the limits of the sixth century.

The first two of the line were not kings, but only Senâpatis, or commanders of troops. The third, Drona, had the dignity of king conferred upon him by the Lord Paramount of India in 550 (?), who in that case would be Śilâditya of Malwa, which may account for their fondness for that name. Was he his nephew as mentioned above? One only assumed the title of Mahârâjâdhirâja—Śrî-Dharasena III., and that after 648, of whom more hereafter.

When we come to the southern branch of this family, we find a state of things singularly confirmatory of the above, and luckily, as these dates are in the Śaka era, there is no ambiguity about them. Although Sir Walter Elliot's lists are the fullest,¹ those of Le Grand Jacob are the most satisfactory, and as he gives translations in full of the inscriptions he uses, we learn from them several particulars of considerable interest.

As the best mode of explaining their history, I quote at length their style and titles as gathered from the Yevûr grants, and an abstract of one of the inscriptions, which gives a clear abstract of their history :—



¹ J. R. A. S., vol. iv. p. 1, *et seq.* Madras Journal, xx., 78 *et seq.*

The following extract from one of their inscriptions fills up the details of their history, in so far as it is necessary for our present purposes :—

This race was ornamented by the great king Pulakesi Vallabha who purified himself by the sacrifice of a horse, and consequent ablution rites. His son, the great king Kirttivarma, lord of the earth, having subdued and forced all his enemies to take refuge in forests, etc., firmly implanted his pure fame amongst them. His son *Satyásraya* lord of the earth, and king of kings, much devoted to war, and to whom all kings paid homage, gained by the defeat of *S'ri Harshavarddhan*, hero of the northern countries, the name of Paramesvara. His beloved son, *Vikramāditya*, father of intelligent sons, lord of the earth and king of kings, desirous of supremacy, supported by a harmonious brotherhood, whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crown of the despotic king of Kānchi, subdued all his rivals on one horse alone, the excellent Chitra-Kandha. His beloved son *Vinayāditya*, lord of the earth and king of kings, desirous of supremacy, disabled as *Tarakarāti* (i.e. Skanda) did the Daityas the insolent forces or *Dhruvayya* king of Kānchi; he made the rulers of the Islands, Kumera, Pārasika, Sinhaha, etc., pay him tribute and gradually acquired the full symbol of supremacy, (*Pādīdhvaja*, etc.) by the overthrow of the kings of the northern countries. His beloved son *Vijayāditya*, lord of the earth, and king of kings, desirous of supremacy, attained, even in his childhood, the whole science of rendering weapons efficacious by charms. His grandfather (*Vikramāditya*) had conquered the kings of the South, but he exterminated all of them who were inimical to him, and after the death, in battle, of his father (*Vinayāditya*), who made conquest of the northern countries, he, moving about at will, got his scymitars' edge blunted by the slaughter of his enemies' numerous elephants. He, foremost in battle, ardent in noble enterprises, made all his enemies subject to him. No sooner did he hear of anarchy than he left his house, like *Vatsarājā* (i.e. Udayana of the solar race) relying on his own power, removed this source of misery in the country, and the excess of every vice, which had arisen from the oppression of Brāhmins, a royal calamity; giving protection to all his subjects by the strength of his arms. He is arbitrary, at all times possessed of the three royal attributes (i.e. Bravery, Policy, and Energy). He humbled the pride of his enemies, but he himself cannot be mastered. He is spotless, and for all this is become all the world's support. His dominions, adorned by all the symbols of supremacy (*Pādīdhvaja*, etc.) are extensive. He commands thus. "Be it known to you that we, in *S'aka* 627, (A.D. 705,) the tenth current year, *Pravarddhamān* of *Vinayāditya*'s reign, at the request of *Dupendra*, granted *Kumāra*, in the country *Mahāsaptami*, to the best and amiable Brāhmins, inhabitants of the village of *Hikudhamba*, who have penetrated through the Vedas and their branches."¹

The only doubtful date in the above list is that of Pulakesi I. Sir W. Elliot states that he has seen an inscription or grant of his, bearing the date of *Śāka* 411,² (A.D. 489) though he himself feels so little confidence in this, that four pages further on he proposes to bring him down to 610; no such violent ad-

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S., iii. p. 206, *et seqq.*

² J.R.S., vol. iv. p. 8.

justment however seems necessary. But if Pulakeṣi I. was the grandfather of the second king of that name, which all the inscriptions assert, and which there seems no reason to doubt, not only from the name being the same, but from the details given, it becomes morally impossible that he should be reigning in 489, and his grandson succeed in 609. The latter date we may look on as fixed within very narrow limits, not only from the inscriptions, but from Hiouen-Tsang's testimony quoted above, and I cannot help suspecting that the 411 is a mislection or a wilful alteration from 511. Assuming that he died in 590, this would give nineteen years for the joint reign of the two brothers, Kīrttivarman and Mangaliṣa,¹ and if we allow fifty or sixty years for the first three names on our list, the accession of Jaya Sinha would be in 530 or 540, or, in round numbers, very nearly the date we reached for the Balabhi branch of the family. Of course adjustments of this sort are open to correction to a considerable extent, as we choose to assume a longer or shorter index for a king's reign; but my conviction is that Bhaṭṭāraka, the progenitor of both those two illustrious races, attained manhood within the limits of the sixth century, and most probably his title of Senāpati not before 528.

We are nowhere told how long Pulakeṣi II. lived; he was alive and vigorous when Hiouen-Tsang visited him in 638-9, and may have lived for ten or twenty years afterwards. On his death, however, the glory of his line was for a while eclipsed. Sir W. Elliot introduces two *féneant* kings, Amara and Āditya—who are entirely omitted in General Jacob's inscriptions. Instead of these we have a Chandrāditya, who did not take his father's title of Adhirāja. This, however, was resumed by his successor, who was his younger son and named Vikramāditya. He died 680, but unfortunately we are not told when he commenced his reign. If we allow him twenty years it would take us back to 660, which, for

¹ In the genealogy above quoted, General Jacob, by some oversight, omits Mangaliṣa, though his third inscription is by him, and fully confirms all we learn from the others. In it mention is made "Shankaraga's son Budha Rāja." The first probably being the Śaṅka, who, according to Hsüi-li (112) killed Rājavaradhana, of Canouge. This inscription unfortunately is not dated.

reasons to be given hereafter, may be near the mark. The two following kings also bore the title of Adhirāja, till the pride of the house was finally extinguished in the reign of a second Vikramāditya, who succeeded to them in 733.¹

The question, therefore is, who was the Adhirāja, who dispossessed Pulakeṣi's eldest son? My impression is we have not far to seek. Śrī-Dharasena III. alone of the Balabhi kings assumed the title, and though we cannot fix his date with absolute precision it was certainly after 330-648, and before Śilāditya II., whose date appears to have been 338-348, or 656-66, which is exactly the gap we wish to fill up.²

We are thus enabled to complete our list of Mahārāja Adhirājas, from the accession of the great Vikramāditya in 590 (?), till it passed from the feeble hands of a successor of the same name, 733, or say, without a break for 150 years, thus:—

M.A. Vikramāditya of Malwa	-	-	490
" Śilāditya do.	-	-	530
" Prabhārakara of Canouge	-	-	580
" Rāja Varddhana	-	-	605 (?)
" Pulakeṣi II. of Kalyan	-	-	609
" Śrī-Dharasena III. of Balabhi	-	-	650 (?)
" Vikramāditya of Kalyan	-	-	660 (?)
" Vinayāditya do.	-	-	680
" Vijayāditya do.	-	-	695
" Vikramāditya II.	-	-	733

Before leaving the family, it is necessary to say a few words about another branch of them, who are mentioned in a copper-plate translated by Professor Dowson in the 1st vol. new series of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. In this grant we have the names, Jaya Sinha, his son Buddha varṇa, and Vijaya Rāja Sarva. As no such name occurs in any of Sir Walter Elliot's lists as the second name here, and no such sequence anywhere, either in his or General Jacob's, we may safely assume that this is a new family altogether. Besides this, the locality is altogether different, all the grants of the great Chālukya family are found south of the Nerbuddha. This was found at Kaira in Gujerat.

¹ Madras Journal xx., p. 81.

² J.B.B.R.A.S. viii., 245.

After what has been said above, there can be little doubt of the Samvat in which it is dated; for, as the Professor says, "to decide the era of one, is to settle that of all."¹

The date of this being S. 394, its date is A.D. 712, and the donors were evidently a branch of the great Kalyan family, which was then at the height of its prosperity.

One curious point regarding this grant, which is very misleading, and seems to have misled the Professor, is the constant recurrence of the same name in the same family. Thus Jaya Sinha, the first named here, is the same as the first of the Kalyan branch, nearly two centuries earlier; and the last is identical with the third of the same name, who began to reign in Kalyan 695, and was contemporary with this very king, as he died 733.² If nominal similarities were of any use in such an inquiry, we might be justified in assuming they were the same persons. The names of their fathers were, however, different, and the one was a simple Mahârāja, the other a Mahârāja Adhirāja; and we must consequently reject the synonym. It is a trap, however, which will frequently occur in the sequel, and cannot be too carefully guarded against.

Rāja-Taranginī.

KINGS OF KASHMIR.

Hushka	} Tartar Princes estab- lished Buddhism.
Jushka	
Kanishka	
Abhimanyu, 21 A.D.	

Gokarna.
Narendrāditya.
Yudhishtira.

ĀDITTA DYNASTY.

Pratāpāditya, 340.
Jalaukas.
Tunjina.
Vijaya.
Jayendra.
Ārya Rāja.

GONARDYA LINE *restored*.

GONARDYA DYNASTY.

Gonarda. *Naga worshipped.*
Vibhishana.
Indrajita.
Ravana.
Vibhishana.
Nara.
Siddha.
Utpalāksha.
Hiranyāksha.
Hiranyākula.
Vasukūlo.
Mihirakula, 180 ?
Vaka.
Kshitinanda,
Vasunanda.
Nara.
Aksha.
Gopāditya, 280 ?

Meghavāhana, 431.
Pravarasena I., 465.
Hiranya } 495.
Toramāna }
Mātrigupta, 525.
Pravarasena II., 530.
Yudhishtira II.
Nandratat.
Ranāditya.
Vikramāditya, 492, 30th year, 622.
Balāditya, 634, cotem. Yazdegerd and
Hiouen-Tsang, died 645 ?

¹ Jour. R.A.S., N.S. i. 250.

² Madras Journal xx. 81.

It has been said that the *Rāja-Tarangiṇī* is the only Sanskrit work to which the title of history can with propriety be applied; but, in addition to this claim on our attention, if I am not mistaken, it is more than a mere history of the valley of Kashmir, as its title would imply, for it contains also considerable fragments of the history of the rest of India. If the *Aśoka* mentioned in Kalhana's lists is the celebrated Mauryan king—which, however, is by no means clear—he was not only sovereign of the valley, but of the whole of Northern India besides. Kanishka, we know, was master of the whole of the Punjab, at least. So was Mihiracula; and even after his defeat and imprisonment by Balāditya, he recovered Ghandāra, which was a portion of his original kingdom.¹ If Meghavāhana conquered Ceylon, he must have had possession of the intermediate countries, and as Pravarasena dethroned and afterwards reinstated Śilāditya, the son of the great Vikramāditya, he must have been practically master of the whole of the north of India. The same must be the case with Lalitāditya and others, if half we are told of them is true. All this will be clearer in the sequel; but, meanwhile, let us try if we can fix the dates of the kings ruling in Kashmir with a little more precision than has hitherto been done.

The dynasties with which we are at present concerned, are the first and second Gonardya, and the Āditya dynasty that comes between them. Generally they may be described as reigning between the early years of the Christian era, and the early years of the Hegira; and the first point is to ascertain, as nearly as may be, their initial and final dates.²

There seems little discrepancy of opinion among chronologists with regard to the first, or to Kanishka's date. General Cunningham hesitates between 17 and 24 A.D.,³ for his death, and Lassen⁴ brings him down to 40 A.D. From

¹ H.-T. ii. 190.

² In the following pages I have generally used Professor Wilson's abstract of the *Rāja-T.* in the fifteenth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. M. Troyer's translation is extremely useful in filling up details, but as the MS. he seems to have used was much less full and complete than that of the Professor, the latter contains many particulars most useful for our purposes, which the translator omits.

³ *Numismatic Chr.* viii., 175. *J. A. S. B.* vii., 704.

⁴ *Ind. Alterthums.*, vol. ii., p. xxiv.

such attention as I have been able to pay to the subject myself, I have come to the conclusion that the General's second date is the most probable; but the concurrence of all authorities is so near, that it is not worth while arguing the point here.

With regard to a final date, we have the assertion of Bedia-ud-deen, that the 30th year of Vikramāditya was coincident with the Hegira (622), and that his successor Balāditya was contemporaneous with Yesdegird.¹

This is just such an assertion as I should feel inclined to accept at the hands of a Mahomedan historian. We know from several sources that the followers of the Prophet were feeling their way on the banks of the Lower Indus in the very first years of the Hegira, and that they were in Cabul, possibly in Lahore, in the forty-fourth year after the flight,² and this appears just one of those facts which they could most easily ascertain, and were most likely to record.

This view has recently been confirmed by a circumstance mentioned incidentally by Sir H. Elliot. In his Appendix, p. 143, he places the accession of Cach in 10 H. The expedition to Kirman in 14 H.; and between these two events happened the siege of Multan. When pressed, Bajhrâ sends to ask assistance from his suzerain, the King of Kashmir. His messengers bring back news that the king was dead, his young son had just succeeded, and no hope of aid could be entertained. This happens to be exactly the year in which Bedia-ud-deen places Vikramāditya's death. Though his successor seems according to the Kashmir annals, to have been his brother, not his son; this is of little consequence. If, as General Cunningham asserts,³ Durlabha succeeded in 625, no change took place down to 39 H., and the founder of

¹ A. R., xv., p. 41.

² Elphinstone's History of India, i., p. 496, *et seq.* Sir H. Elliot's Mahomedan Histories, *passim*.

³ Report to Government, 1861-2, p. 12. The General assures me he has materials quite sufficient to establish the correctness of this date. When they are published I shall be happy to give them my most earnest attention, and to modify the above if I find them conclusive. In the meanwhile, however, the difference between us is only twenty years, and that is not important for our present purposes.

the new dynasty was not at all the man to refuse assistance to his vassals.

If these views are correct, it is evident that Balāditya, 634-645, was the king who occupied the throne both on Hiouen-Thasang's first visit and on his return; but, unfortunately, as he provokingly does not mention the king's name—he was a heretic—his narrative is of no assistance to us here. There are certain circumstances, however, that make it probable that no recent revolution, or change of dynasty, had taken place, and though I do not rely, as Bhau Dajī does, in the name of the monastery in which he lived, I, on the whole—without being able to adduce any distinct point of evidence—prefer the view here put forth.

Between the initial and final date thus fixed, we have almost exactly six centuries, and during that period thirty-seven kings are recorded as having held sway in Kashmir; thus averaging, as nearly as may be, sixteen years to each reign. This result accords so nearly with the average of the succeeding, or Kārkota dynasty, regarding whose dates there is very little doubt, as well as with the whole tenor of Indian history, that it almost amounts, in my mind, to a proof of the correctness of the data on which we are proceeding.

If any one will take the trouble of adding up the averages of any of the Hindu or Mahomedan dynasties of India, whose dates are known, he will be astonished how nearly this average is sustained when a sufficient number of reigns exist to make an average. Take, for instance, one of the most exceptional: In the Moghal dynasty of Delhi we have four reigns, from Akbar, 1556 to Aurangzeb, 1707, averaging nearly thirty-eight years each; yet, when we take the whole from Baber, 1494, to Akbar II., 1806, we find the average reduced to fifteen; or sixteen, if we omit some names that can hardly be said to have reigned. Or take the longest list we know, that of Ceylon, according to Turnour (*Mahawanso*, p. lix.), we have 165 reigns in 2341 years, or little more than fourteen years; but it must be admitted that for some periods the Cingalese

Government was singularly feeble and disturbed, so this is probably an exceptionally low average.

To this we shall have frequent occasion to return hereafter, but in the meanwhile I may state that when we find a dynasty averaging from fifteen to seventeen years, we may feel pretty confident that there is no great error in the initial and final dates from which the average is calculated; or, if these are known, that there is a great probability that we have the correct number of names that ought to be found between these two points.

Turning from these generalities, and assuming for the present, at least, that Vikramāditya ascended the throne 592, we find the dates of the four preceding reigns are enormously exaggerated, amounting to 415 years. Applying an average of sixteen years we reach 528 for the retirement of Mātrigupta and the accession of Pravarasena II. The real date, as we shall presently see, was most probably 530.

The story of Mātrigupta is told, in great detail, in the third book of the R.T., and, putting aside the usual padding of Hindu chroniclers, there seems no reason to doubt its general historical correctness. At a period, after the death of Hiranya, when Kashmir was without a king, Vikramāditya, of Ougein, sent a dependent of his own to occupy the vacant throne, exercising in that act his right as lord paramount, or Adhirāja of India. This time there is no possible mistake about the king being the one so famous in Hindu story, the possessor of the wonderful throne supported by thirty-two Apsarasas, the patron of poets, and of art and science of every sort; in fact, he was not the king of kings, but the demi-god of Hindu imagination.

As soon as Mātrigupta heard of the death of his patron, he retired to Benares,¹ leaving the throne to Pravarasena. "He immediately invaded the kingdom of the south, turned his arms against the son and successor of Vikramāditya, named Pratāpa Śīla, or Śīlāditya, whom he drove from his capital and made prisoner. He seems to have been contented with

¹ Troyer, vol. ii., p. 94. A. R. xv., 39.

the expression of his resentment, and not only to have spared the life of the prince, but to have put him again in possession of his hereditary kingdom, carrying off, however, the throne of the Apsarasas, which he transferred to his own capital."¹ Bedia-ud-deen, Professor Wilson adds, "carries Pravarasena to Bengal, also, where he subdues Behar Sinh, ruler of Dhacca."

As mentioned above, Hiouen-Thsang gives the accession of Śīlāditya in 530, which is so nearly what we arrive at by the above calculation that we may accept it as certain within a year or so either way. Assuming this, we have four events which occurred in this year, which are most important for our chronology :—the death of Vikramāditya the Great ; the accession of Śīlāditya to the throne of Malwa ; and the retirement of Mātrigupta ; followed by the accession of Pravara-sena II. to the throne of Kashmir.

Proceeding upwards, the R.T. allows thirty years for the joint reign of the two brothers, Hiranya and Toramāna—a duration, I am inclined to think, very probable from the following circumstance : Pravarasena II. was not born till after his father Toramāna had been deposed and imprisoned. When Mātrigupta was first sent, Pravara declined to oppose him, though urged by his mother to do so. He was apparently too young ; while to act as he did act on Vikramāditya's death, he must, at least, have been 25 years of age.

This would allow only ten years for the joint reign of the two brothers, and, from the context, we can hardly allow less. This would take us back to 495. The next preceding reign was Pravarasena I., the grandfather, of course, of the second of that name, and he was preceded by Meghavâhana, whose name sounds much more like a title invented by the Kash-miree chronicler to hide a foreign conquest, than a real name. Be this as it may, these two reigns are represented as extending to 64 years, or to A.D. 431. This I should feel very much inclined to reject as excessive, were it not that in the R. T. he is said to have invaded Ceylon, and, adds Troyer, l. iii., s. 72,

¹ A. R. xv., 39.

"Monta avec son armée sur un rocher nommé Rohanam, &c." Turning to the Mahāvanso, under the date 434, we find the following entry: "A certain Damilo, named Pandu, landing from the opposite coast, put Mettasena to death on the field of battle, and usurped the kingdom of Lanka. All the principal natives fled to Rohana,"¹ &c.

The dates are too near to admit of doubt but that these narratives relate to the same event; but, as I said on a previous occasion, I cannot help fancying that the Ceylonese dates are all from ten to fifteen years too early in this period.²

The king, being called by the generic name of Pāṇḍu—Pāṇḍava—does not help us to an identification; but, it will be observed, it is the same name as is given by the Ceylonese, to the Emperor of Magadha in the Daladāvanso,³ above a century earlier.

To this subject we must return again presently; but meanwhile, it is only necessary to remark, that if Meghavāhana did invade Ceylon, as he is reported to have done, he must also have borne another name, and been sovereign of the intermediate countries. It is absurd to suppose that the king of a remote Himalayan valley, that never could have contained a million of inhabitants, could have marched the whole length of India on such an expedition. He must have been a possessor of the five Indias, but what his real name was we must try afterwards to find out.

We have no contemporary incidents and no internal evidence by which to check the length of the reigns of the six kings of the preceding, or Âditya dynasty. It could not however, have lasted long if it is true as we are told in R.-T., that Meghavāhana was the great grandson of Yudhishtira, the last king of the first Gonardya dynasty. If we allow them fifteen years each, which is rather more than the average we are now reduced to, this would place the accession of Pratâpâditya, about 344. "He was," says Pro-

¹ Mahawanso, p. 254.

² J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. iii., p. 152.

³ J.A.S.B., vol. vi., p. 865. A. R. xv., p. 32.

fessor Wilson, "invited from another country: he was a kinsman of Vikramāditya. A different monarch, says our author, from the Śakāri Vikramāditya, although sometimes erroneously identified with this prince."¹ This fact, though not very clear, is worth bearing in mind, as Wilford, from Jaina authorities, insists on an earlier Vikramāditya; and there certainly does appear to have been a king of that name before the great king—the son of Harsha. My own impression is, that he was his grandfather; this one is too far removed for that, but we may be able to identify him hereafter. Meanwhile, I see little reason to doubt his existence; but if my theory is correct, he ought to have been contemporary with the first king of the second Gonardyan dynasty (A.D. 447), and not with the first of the Âditya race, which is a century too early for any king of that name we know of.

Mihirakula is the only other king in the Kashmir list whose date it is necessary for our present purposes to attempt to fix. Unfortunately, we have no other means than averages available, but they do come out so nearly exact in these lists, that we cannot err far in placing his accession about the year 180 A.D., to say 200. This would accord perfectly with Hiouen-Thsang's expression when he describes him thus:—"Plusieurs centaines d'années avant l'époque actuelle il y eut un roi nommé Mahiracula qui établit sa résidence dans cette ville (Sakala) et devient Souverain des cinq Indes."²

The story of his wars with Balāditya, king of Magadha—his defeat and imprisonment—are among the most curious and interesting episodes of Indian history to be found in the Chinese pilgrim's narrative; but as it is only his date that we are here concerned with, we must leave him with it established certainly within a limit of error of 20 years either way.

To all these dates we shall have occasion to refer again in the sequel, and it is consequently unnecessary to enlarge on them more at present.

¹ A. R., ix., 175, and xv., 85.

² H.-T., ii., 190.

The Guptas.

FIRST THEORY.			SECOND THEORY.			
		A.D.				A.D.
Gupta, or Balabhi Era	...	318	...	...	...	318
Gupta	...	...	...	...	...	318?
Ghatotkacha....	...	...	...	...	...	335?
Chandra Gupta I.	...	400, 411	...	...	...	355?
Samudra Gupta	...	415?	...	...	...	375?
Chandra Gupta II.	...	440?	...	...	...400,	411
Kumâra Gupta	...	442	...	...	...	442
Skanda Gupta	...	448, 459	...	...	...448,	459
Budha Gupta	...	463	...	...	...	463
Toramâṇa	...	498	...	...	...	498

We now approach the Gupta Era, which has hitherto been the great difficulty of mediæval chronology in India, not that I think their date more uncertain than those we have been discussing, but the weight of authority arrayed against the views I am about to propound might well make any one pause before announcing them too confidently.

When General Cunningham wrote his work on the Bhilsa Topes, he took the same view of the era of those kings as I now do, but he has since seen reason to change his opinion regarding them, and to adopt that of Mr. Thomas, that the Gupta kings reigned before the era that bears their name (318-19). For a long time this seemed to me conclusive, for when an author of his standing and acknowledged familiarity with the subject retracts a published opinion, and adopts another, he must be supposed to have had good reason for so doing, and his second opinion is more worthy of consideration than the first. In this matter, however, I consider Mr. Thomas as a more formidable antagonist than even the General. For many years past he has studied the coins, and with them the Gupta period, with more assiduity and care than any other person, as his numerous publications on the subject fully attest; and no one can estimate more highly than I do, either his ability or the perfect fairness with which he treats the subject. Notwithstanding this, I venture to differ from him, first, because I think his conclusions are drawn too exclusively from numismatic evidence; and, secondly, because I fancy he places too much reliance on the testimony of Albîrûnî, an Arab author of the

eleventh century, whose authority I am inclined to disregard entirely.

The testimony of Albîrûnî on this subject, with which we will first deal, is contained in the few following words, as translated by M. Reinaud: "Quant au Goupta Kala (ère des Gouptas), on entend par le mot Goupta des gens qui, dit-on, étaient méchants et puissants; et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination."¹

The first thing that strikes anyone on reading this assertion is its extreme improbability. My memory may be at fault, but I do not know any similar occurrence in the history of the world. The nearest approach to it is the era of Yesdegird. If it had been dated from the battle of Kadesia or the death of the king, it would have been a case in point; but it was established by the king himself in the pride of power and greatness, and dates from the *first* year of his reign, and seems to have been perpetuated by his co-religionists in opposition to the Hegira, which was introduced by their hated conquerors.

In the next place, if it were possible to fix their destruction with such precision in 318, some event of importance must have happened in that year—a battle, or massacre. We ought to know the name of the last Gupta, or to have heard the boast of their exterminators; neither history nor tradition, nor does any inscription hint at any such event as occurring at or near any such time. When we look into the case a little more closely, we find there are a variety of Gupta inscriptions dated from 82 to 165,² from some unspecified era. If it was not their own, it must have been the Śaka 73, A.D. At least Albîrûnî knows no other about the time. This, however, would only take us down to 243 A.D., and still leave us seventy-five years to fill up before we get to the last Gupta, and we have no names to put into the gap.

¹ As I only refer to Albîrûnî in consequence of the value Mr. Thomas attaches to his evidence, I take the passages as found in his essays, to which alone I refer. They will be found in the twelfth volume of this Journal, p. 1, *et seqq.*, and in his edition of Prinsep, vol. i., 268 to 276. As they are comprised in so short a space, it will not be necessary to refer specially to each page.

² They are collected by Thomas in his edition of Prinsep, vol. i., p. 246 to 249.

Albîrûnî goes on to say, "Apparemmment, Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Gouptas." If I am correct in the date I have above assigned to Battâraka, the progenitor of the Balabha race, we have at least two centuries to spare between the first Râja of that family and the last of the Guptas, on the assumption that they were exterminated in 318.

A little further on, however, Albîrûnî contradicts himself when enumerating the eras of India, as they occurred, he says, "on emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri Harcha (400 years before the next) de Vicramaditya, de Saca, de Ballaba, et des Gouptas." Here the order of the two last is inverted, and it is clear he knew of no era between 78 and 318, from which the Gupta inscriptions could be dated.

I may add that the two Harsha eras which he quotes—one 457 B.C., the other 607 A.D.—are, so far as we now know, pure inventions, or mistakes of his own. No trace of them is to be found elsewhere.

I could easily adduce other reasons why I distrust entirely this Arab author, but the above are, for the present I hope, sufficient to justify me in putting his testimony aside. He was a foreigner, and lived six centuries after the events we are discussing, and it is not consequently to be wondered at that he blundered to the extent he did.¹ As I hope, however, presently to adduce proof positive that the Guptas did date from their own era, this, perhaps, is more than is now necessary to say with regard to him; but so much stress has been laid on his assertions, that it was impossible to pass him over, as otherwise I would have been inclined to do.

When from Albîrûnî we turn to authors nearer home, we find that the only mention of the Guptas anywhere is in the

¹ In the above I have argued as if the translations of Albîrûnî given by Messrs. Reinaud and Thomas were final; both are competent Arabic scholars, and, as I am not, I have taken the meaning as they understand it. On page 271, vol. i. of Mr. Thomas' Prinsep, he gives another translation in the following words: "The Kûbat Kâl (Gupta era) that was, as is said, a wicked and powerful family; when it ceased it was dated from, and as it were (it would seem that) Balab was the last of them, for the first of their era also is 241 years after the Shaka Kâl." If that word *also* has any right to be where it is put, there is an end of the question, and we are fighting with shadows, in so far as Albîrûnî is concerned. All I contend for is, that both dated from 318 A.D.

Purāṇas, and their chronology is, unfortunately, most vague and confused about this period. Both Dr. Mill,¹ however, and Professor Wilson² were of opinion that the Guptas of the Purāṇas could not be earlier than the seventh or eighth century. The argument is long and tedious, and the result, probably, even if undertaken by the best Sanskrit scholar, would hardly be sufficiently conclusive to be worth the space it would occupy. But, perhaps, I may be allowed to state, generally, the conclusions I have arrived at regarding it.

My impression is that the chronological dates, and, generally, the facts, on which the Puranic literature is based, were first collected during the great revival of Hindu literature, which took place under Vikramāditya in the beginning of the sixth century; though of course it is admitted that the Purāṇas were not reduced to their present form till long afterwards. Now, it appears to me that, down to Pulomat, in the beginning of the fifth century, the Puranic lists are fairly clear and consecutive; but as they approached known times—on this theory, in order to keep up their mystic and prophetic character—they were purposely confused and mystified. My conviction is, that all the dynasties mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa,³ for instance, as reigning subsequent to the last Andhra, were so far contemporaneous, that none of them extended to Vikramāditya, and the whole must be included between 350, or rather 400, at the earliest, till 500 A.D. as the last of them. If this is so, the testimony of the Purāṇas “valeat quantum” is that the Guptas reigned in the fifth century A.D. To my mind the Puranic argument appears perfectly clear and convincing, but I fear I cannot so state it as to carry the same conviction to others. We shall have occasion, however, to return to it in the sequel. Nevertheless let us see what the Guptas say for themselves.

The following is, I believe, a correct list of the dynasty :—

DYNASTY.

DATES ON INSCRIPTION.

Srī or Raja Gupta.

Mahārāja Ghatotkacha.

¹ J.A.S.B., vi., p. 12.

² Vishṇu Purāṇa, 478; Ariana Antiqua, 407.

³ V. P. 474.

DYNASTY.	DATES ON INSCRIPTION.
M. R. adhirâja Chandra Gupta I.	82, 93.
„ Samudra „	
„ Chandra Gupta II.	
„ Kumara „	124.
„ Skanda „	130, 137, 141.
„ Mahendra a minor.	
Mahârâja Śrī Hastina.	163.
Râja Buddha.	165.
M. R. adhirâja Toramâna.	182.

Neither Śrī Hastina nor Toramâna can properly speaking be called Guptas, but as they date most undoubtedly from the same era, they are commonly classed with them.

Here, then, we have a dynasty of nine or ten kings who, according to their own showing, reigned at least 180 years, or about 20 years a-piece, a number a little in excess of what we might expect, but there may have been names we have not got. The only question is from what era are these dates reckoned.

As before mentioned, if it were either the Samvat of Vikramāditya or the Śaka, they must have been destroyed long before 318; and unless a date, either 85, or at least 68 years more modern can be found, the argument halts. Certainly Albîrûnî knew of no such era, nor do I know where to look for it.

Assuming that these dates are from the Gupta Kâla, 318, we are at once met with a difficulty which I do not now see how we are to get over. We have at present no means of knowing whether the two dates I have placed opposite the first Chandra Gupta belong to him or the second—another illustration of the inconvenience of a grandson adopting his grandfather's name! Assuming it to be as I have placed them at the head of this section, according to the first theory, Chandra Gupta I. reigned 400 to 411. In this case, the two preceding reigns must have occupied 80 or 82 years, on the supposition that their reigns extended to the beginning of the Era, which is far from being proved. On this theory, the succeeding reigns must have been compressed to an equally

unusual extent. If these dates belong to the second Chandra Gupta, the whole dynasty may be tolerably evenly distributed over the whole period, allowing 20 years to each reign. The more equal spacing of the reigns of these kings is tempting at first sight, but the whole evidence, so far as I am acquainted with it, tends in an opposite direction, and favours the assumption that the Sanchi inscription belongs to the first Chandra Gupta.

Pending the discovery of an inscription to settle this point, the question seems mainly to hinge on who was the Shâhân-Shâhî of Samudra Gupta's Allahabad inscription.¹ If any one, even if very moderately acquainted with Indian or Persian history, were asked which of the Sassanian kings was most likely to be mentioned in an inscription at Allahabad, he would almost inevitably answer Bahram Gaur. He reigned 420-440; and if the date 93 belongs to the first Chandra Gupta, the writer of the inscription could not have ascended the throne before 411—it might be 415 or 420.²

In the same line of this inscription occurs another name, on which Prinsep makes the following remark:—"Sainhâtta—the country of the lion (Sinha), might safely be identified with Sinhala in Ceylon, especially as it is followed by *Sarvadvîpa*—all the isles, which must refer to the Anca diva of Ptolemy, etc." He then goes on to suggest that the word may apply to some insignificant hills among the Western Ghats. This we may safely reject. Such a place would never be coupled with the Persians, the Scythians, and Huns; but Ceylon might.³

If we turn back to either the Kashmir or Ceylon annals we find (ante p. 100) an Indian Conquest of Ceylon in 434, which also might safely be made to fall within this reign, and Meghavâhana would then be only a title of Samudra Gupta. Supposing, however, it should turn out that the dates above quoted (82 and 93) belong to the second Chandra Gupta. This would hardly alter the facts. Bahram Gaur's visit would fall in the reign of Kumâra, and the Shah of the

¹ J.A.S.B. vi. p. 974; Thomas' Prinsep, i. 233, *et seq.*

² *Loc. c.*

³ We probably must refer again to the *Lât* for the true reading.

inscription would be Shapur III., or Bahram Kerman Shah, both of whom most probably formed alliances with the kings of India of that day. In that case the Meghavâhana of Kashmir was probably Skanda the last, and probably the greatest, of his race.¹

On the whole, the first is the view I am at present inclined to adopt; but it is little use arguing a question which an inscription with a date may settle any day. Either view will suit all the facts we now know; and so far as history or probability are concerned I know nothing to militate against the view that the greatness of the Guptas ended with Skanda, about the year A.D. 460.

Whatever may be determined with regard to the connexion of Meghavâhana with the Guptas, the name of his successor, Pravarasena, presents a nominal similarity too tempting to be overlooked, though it may be difficult to establish the identity in an absolute manner.

From the Seonî copper plates² we learn that the grantor was a Mahârâja Pravarasena, the grandson of Mahârâja Adhirâja Śrî Deva Gupta. Deva was no doubt a title only, as it does not occur anywhere else in our lists; but in the Sanchi inscription³ we are told in so many words that the Chandra Gupta of 93, was "generally known among his subjects as Devarâja." Assuming for the nonce that this was the king, the Pravarasena of Seonî was the contemporary of him of Kashmir, if he was not the same. It is a very curious coincidence at least, if it is nothing more.

There is also another inscription of the same Pravarasena, in the so-called Zodiac Cave, at Ajanta. This, though much mutilated, has been so far deciphered by Bhau Dajî⁴ as to make it clear that it is the same king who excavated the cave, and who made the Seonî grant. It seems also clear that he

¹ A probable explanation of the matter is, that the Kashmir King may have assisted his Suzerain in his expedition to Ceylon, and when he returned home, boasted that, "He had done it." The Châlukya Adhirâjas boast so continuously of their conquests of Ceylon, (J. B. B. R.A.S. III., p. 205,) that it is probable that from the time of the Guptas, or at least from 434, the island remained more or less a dependency of the Emperors of India, for a considerable time at least.

² J.A.S.B. v. 726.

³ J.A.S.B.; Thomas' Prinsep, i. 245.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S. vi. pt. 2nd, p. 56.

was of the Vindhyaśakti race who are mentioned in the Purāṇas before the Guptas.¹ As I said before, however, I believe all that group of dynasties are contemporary, or nearly so. I would not, therefore, insist on this, but what I do insist upon is that the cave could not have been excavated before the year 400 A.D. When I first wrote on the subject I said "I believe this, and the one before it, was excavated between the fourth and sixth century after Christ, but more probably about the latter date."² I have since felt inclined, as my knowledge of the subject increased, to ascribe this cave to a more modern date, but, on the whole, after a careful analysis of the Topes, at Sanchi and Amravati, and a review of the whole subject, I feel convinced that it must have been excavated within the limits of the fifth century. Now, that we know that it owes its origin to a grandson of one of our Gupta kings, this, to my mind, is in itself sufficient to settle the question, though others may not attach so much weight to this argument as I do.

The name of Toramāṇa, one of the successors of Pravara-sena, in the Kashmir list, affords a more tempting nominal similarity than even his father's name.

We have two inscriptions, one at Eran,³ and the other at Gwalior;⁴ neither is dated from any era, but the former is closely connected with that of Budha Gupta, at the same place, which is dated 165. Toramāṇa's is dated in the first year of his reign, and probably not long after the date just quoted, and Thomas reads the date on his coin as 180,⁵ which is further confirmed by Bhau Daji, who believes he detects the symbol for 180 + something on the Eran inscription.⁶ This date, therefore, if my view of the era is correct, is 498 to 500. Both Bhau Daji and Rajendra Lal identify him unhesitatingly with the Toramāṇa of Kashmir, and the latter further asserts that the Paśupati, the son of Toramāṇa, in the fifteenth year of whose reign the inscription was put up,

¹ Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 477.

³ J.A.S.A. viii. 633; Thomas, i. 249.

⁶ Prinsep, i. 340.

² J.R.A.S. viii. 48.

⁴ J.A.S.B. xxx. 277.

⁵ J.B.B.R.A.S. viii. 249.

is no other than Pravarasena II., the King of Kashmir.¹ My own impression is that they are right. The coincidences are so many and so curious that they can hardly be accidental; but there is one difficulty in the way of the identification of the two Toramâṇas, which must not be overlooked. The king on the Eran inscription is styled Mahârāja Adhirāja—the King of Kashmir never rose above the rank of Yuvarāja; and if the first title is not a piece of oriental flattery, as Lassen² suggests, it is impossible they should be the same person. Neither Budha Gupta nor the Toramâṇa, of Gwalior, aspire to this rank, and it is not by any means clear that even the two Indian Toramâṇas are identical. If he was an Adhirāja we must also curtail the reign, or at least the supremacy of Vikramāditya, by some years; he could not in that case have become lord paramount till after Toramâṇa's death.

Even supposing these identifications cannot be absolutely ascertained, there is a curious fact with regard to names in Indian history which it is worth pointing out, and may serve somewhat to solve the difficulty.

Certain names appear to crop up at particular periods, and to be adopted by everybody at the same time. Thus all the Śilādityas, whether of Malwa, Canouge, or Balabhi, are comprised within the limits of a century, or thereabout. The name does not occur before or afterwards; and in like manner, after Vikramāditya of Malwa made himself so famous, the name occurs again and again, with most perplexing frequency. We have already seen one Vijayāditya of Guzerat assuming the same name as an Adhirāja of the same family who was living at the same time, and the example of Harsha Varddhana of Canouge, shows how easily Hindu rajas change their names. All this is perplexing enough in most instances, and is, no doubt, one of the chief causes of the uncertainty which pervades the whole subject; but the knowledge of its existence may frequently obviate a difficulty which might otherwise seem insuperable.

The conclusion I have arrived at from such attention as I

¹ J.A.S.B. xxx. 271.

² Indische Alt. iii. 659.

can pay to the subject, is that all these Toramānas and Pravarasenas belong certainly to the same age; that some of them may be identical, and all nearly contemporary; but we must wait for further information before we can say positively which were actually the same, and which were only living at the same time.

I shall conclude this branch of my subject by referring to the Skanda Gupta inscription on the rock at Junagar. This was not translated by Prinsep, though a copy of it was in his hands before his last illness.¹ Had he lived to translate it, my impression is that the controversy as to the age of the Guptas never would have arisen—its evidence seems so absolute. Be this as it may, it never appeared, so far as I know, in a complete form and translated, till this was accomplished by Bhau Daji in the sixth volume of the Bombay Journal of 1862. In it we have three dates—the Sadaršana lake is said to have burst its banks in 130, to have been repaired in 137, and a temple to Vishṇu built in 138, and twice it is repeated "*counting from the Era of the Guptas*" (Guptasya Kāla). The stone is worn where the middle date occurs, but there is just space enough for these words. The same king, on the Kuhaon pillar, dates his inscription in 141,² but without mentioning the era, which seems to have been so usual in Bengal, as not to require being specified.

I may add that the inflated language of this inscription approximates it very closely to those of the Balabhi kings above alluded to, and the form of the characters seems almost identical. What, then, was the Gupta Kāla? If Albîrûnî was right in calling the era of 318 by this name, here we have proof positive that he was wrong in saying it was the era of the destruction of the family; for here we have one of the best known and most powerful kings of this family actually dating his inscription from this era, and his authority is surely better than Albîrûnî's on such a subject. Further, if the Gupta Era was this one, then Skanda Gupta reigned certainly from A.D. 448 to 459—how much before or after we have at present no means of knowing.

¹ J.A.S.B. vii. 634.

² Thomas, i. 250.

Had the facts above stated been the whole case, no one, I believe, would ever have raised a question about the matter, or dreamt of placing the Guptas anywhere but in the 5th century. There are, however, certain circumstances connected with their coins which have induced Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and other numismatists, to bring them back to an earlier age. Even here, however, it is only half a difficulty, for the Guptas had two distinct and separate coinages, as unlike one another in style and execution as it is well possible to conceive. One, called the Canouge group, is derived from the Indo-Scythian coins, by easily traced gradations.¹ The other is copied from the Saurastrian coinage of the Sah kings, and is generally confined to silver and copper pieces, while the Canouge coinage seems to be generally gold.

Putting on one side for the present the coins of the Sah type, to which we will return presently, and confining our remarks wholly to the Canouge coins, they do not appear to me to offer any difficulty. In the first place, I attach no importance to the objection that some of them are so like others of the Indo-Scythian series, which we know are of the 1st century A.D., that they *ought* to be near them in date. The argument might be good in Europe, but mintages are in all ages and countries singularly conventional and capricious, and we have no right to apply to India the experience of other countries, without, at least, some stronger reason than has yet been adduced.

The question is a very large one, and I do not feel myself competent to enter into it, nor is it necessary to do so in the present instance. One coin, or rather group of coins, will be sufficient to explain my meaning, and with it I fancy the whole argument must stand or fall. In the Canouge series there are several coins which represent, on the obverse, the king slaying a lion, on the reverse, a female figure seated on a lion.² They are the most beautiful in execution of the whole series, and, consequently, the furthestmost removed from the rude Indo-Scythic coins which preceded them. Probably,

¹ Prinsep pointed this out as early as 1835, and it has not since been disputed. J.A.S.B., iv. p. 621, *et seq.*

² J.R.A.S., xii., pl. v., fig. 25, 27, 28, pl. vii., fig. 1, 2, 8.

therefore, they were the last and culminating effort of the Canouge engraver. One of these coins (pl. v., fig. 28) bears the name of Kumâra Gupta. All the others that of Vikramâditya, Vikrama Sinha, or some such name. On one coin (pl. v. 25), the most perfect of the whole, we have the full inscription perfectly legible, on the obverse, Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrī, and on the reverse, Śrī Sinha Vikrama. Who then is the king? For myself I cannot doubt but that he is the famous king of Malwa, who, if my chronology is correct, succeeded the Guptas so closely, as we have just seen that Toramâṇa's reign probably overlapped his for some years, though to so small an extent that it may possibly be adjusted.

There is another point, however, with regard to these coins which seems to me of great interest. The device of the King killing a lion is very un-Indian; but from the earliest Babylonian cylinder, through the whole Assyrian period down to the late Futteh Ali Shah, every king of the Persian countries has so represented himself. Throughout Indian history, Vikramâditya is represented as the son of, or at least as the descendant of Bahram Gour, who is said to have married a daughter of Vasudeva.¹ To my mind the coin confirms the story, and the story the adscription of the coin to a most satisfactory extent.

There is still another group of coins called Indo-Sassanian, which, however, have only been imperfectly read. The typical example of the class is one originally drawn by Prinsep, and reproduced by Thomas (vol. i., pl. vii., fig. 6). It represents a Sassanian king on one side; on the other, another who may be an Indian with a distinctly legible inscription in Sanskrit characters, which reads Śrī Vasudeva. While the other inscriptions are undecyphered, it is too hazardous even to suggest that this may be the father-in-law of Bahram Gour; but the number of these Indo-Sassanian coins which are found in India, extending even beyond the Hegira, prove a close intercourse between the two countries at the period we are now speaking about, and when thoroughly investigated, will, I fancy, throw more light on

¹ Ayeen Akbaree II., 54. Ferishtah p. lxxvi.

the political and religious changes that took place in India about the sixth century, than anything else which has yet come to light.

So far as they have yet been described, or decyphered, they seem to me to confirm the impression of a strong Sassanian influence during the Gupta period, which would quite justify the terms in which one of them is mentioned by Samudra Gupta in his inscription. They seem also, so far as I can judge, to prove the correctness of the story of the descent of Vikramāditya from the Persian king.¹

There is still another small group of coins belonging to the series which have hitherto been unidentified, but for which it may be possible to find an owner if we adopt this theory of dates. Among the Canouge coins are several with a horse on the obverse, and a female figure on the reverse, with a very legible inscription beside the latter, which reads "Aṣvamedha Parākrama, the paramount hero of the Aṣvamedha."² If I am correct in my chronology, Pulakeṣi I. did perform an Aṣvamedha during the reign of Śilāditya, the son and successor of Vikramāditya of Malwa, and the character of the coin would exactly suit this date. This, of course, is not proof. Many others may have done the same, but none, so far as I know, claim to have performed this sacrifice in any of the numerous inscriptions we have about this period; and at all events it may be put down as one of the many curious coincidences which this theory of the Gupta dates gives rise to, and which, when sufficiently numerous, make out a case of circumstantial evidence that cannot be resisted.

Before proceeding to discuss the difficulty which arises from the character of the Sah type of Gupta coins, it will be convenient to try and fix the dates of another Gupta family, whose existence may perhaps throw some light on the subject.

¹ My impression is, that Vikramāditya was the great grandson of Bahram Gour. Thus his son bore that name (447 ?). His son was Harsha, and then came the second king of that name, the great Vikramāditya in 490. According to this view, the so-called Gadhia Paisa fall naturally and easily into the position to which they have hitherto been tentatively assigned.

² Thomas, J. R. A. S. xii., pl. v., fig. 31, 32. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xviii. fig. 2, etc.

It will be convenient to designate them as the Magadha Guptas, to distinguish them from the Canouge family of the same name whose dates we have just been discussing. The former are known to us only from accounts given of them by Hiouen-Tsang. While residing in the monastery of Nālanda he tells us that the founder of that institution was one Śakrāditya,¹ a name so like that sometimes applied to Śālivāhana, that the first idea is that it may be the same person. It is by no means impossible that this may be so, but for the present I am inclined to believe that that king is at least half a century too modern to meet the requirements of Hiouen-Tsang's text; for he goes on to say, "Ainsi depuis les sept cents ans que ce convent existe, nul homme," etc. Of course, he is speaking in round numbers, but as he resided five years in this monastery, he was likely to be well informed in its annals, and we must allow that when he said 700, he meant at least more than 600, which would take us back to A.D. 40, or before it. This view is confirmed by a fact that I see no reason for doubting, which is that Nāgārjuna resided sometime in this monastery,² and he was contemporary with Kanishka. Indeed I am inclined to look on Nāgārjuna as practically the founder of this great establishment, and generally of the monastic system in India. Be this as it may, Hiouen-Tsang's date and the residence of this saint in the monastery, place its foundation in the first years of the Christian era.

After this our author proceeds to record the names and benefactions of four of his successors, each of whom he represents as the son of the preceding king. This is doubtful, but not so the succession of the following kings :—

1. Śakrāditya.
2. Buddha Gupta.
3. Tathāgata Gupta.
4. Balāditya, and
5. Vajra.

No particulars are given of any of these kings, except Balāditya. He we are told was contemporary with Mihirakula of Kashmir,³ and the story of their wars and its re-

¹ H.-T., i. 150; iii. 42. ² Vassilief, *Le Bouddisme*, etc., p. 200. ³ H.-T. ii. 191.

results are told in great detail as above mentioned in speaking of the Râja-Tarangiṇī. Here occurs our first difficulty. If we are to read Hioun-Thsang literally, Balâditya was the great-grandson of Śakrâditya, whom, for the reason just stated, I believe to have been contemporary with Kanishka, but according to the Kashmir lists 12 reigns occur between that king and Mihirakula. The only mode of reconciling the two lists that occurs to me is to assume that Hiouen-Thsang used the word "Son" in the sense of "descendant," as is done in every Puranic list we are acquainted with to an extent that is sometimes most perplexing.

For reasons above stated, I am inclined to place great reliance on Kashmir lists as adjusted, and therefore feel considerable confidence in placing Balâditya in the latter half of the second century; and Buddha Gupta we may, for the present, place about the year 100 A.D., till we get some further data for fixing his date with more precision.

We know only of one other king of this dynasty, the "Pânḍu," of the Daladâvanso. His capital was Pali-bothra (Patna) where he was reigning in the beginning of the fourth century, and if not Lord Paramount of the whole of India, he at least exercised suzerain right over the Kalingas, which are the countries principally referred to in the narrative.¹

The result of all this, therefore, is that for a dynasty which we know lasted for 300 years, we have only six names—or rather only five, for the last is a title—and we want at least a dozen more to fill up the gaps which exist. Everything we know of this dynasty would lead us to suppose that they were powerful, and had among their numbers some "Adhirâjas" at least; but we have no record of two thirds of their names, and do not know where to look for them.

In order to understand the bearing this dynasty may have in the numismatic evidence, it is necessary to assume some date for the Sah kings of Saurashtra, whose coinage so closely resembles those of the Guptas.—Mr. Thomas places all the

¹ J.A.S.B. vi. p. 856, *et seqq.*

13 kings between 157 and 57 B.C.¹ Mr. Justice Newton begins where Mr. Thomas leaves off, and places them between 57 B.C., and 235 A.D.;² and Bhau Daji begins 135 years later, and extends them to 376 A.D.³ The two latter authorities also extend the number of reigns from newly discovered coins to 20 or 25 names, which would give from 12 to 15 years to each, instead of under eight, as was assumed from those that were known in 1848, when Mr. Thomas wrote.

General Cunningham, I believe, agrees with Mr. Newton, and my own impression is—for reasons to be given hereafter—that his views are more in accordance with the facts of the case than those of either of the gentlemen who place themselves before or after his dates. At all events, we may safely assume this for the present argument.

The three kings of the Gupta dynasty, whose coins are most frequently found of the Surastrian type, are Budha, Kumâra, and Skanda. If they were confined to the two, or even to these three only, the difficulty might be got over by assuming that Budha Gupta of the coins was the Buddha Gupta⁴ of the Magadha dynasty. The dates would fit admirably, and such a coin as those 52 or 56, plate ii., J. R. A. S. XII., would range perfectly with the Sah series. Nor would I hesitate in assuming that Kumâra might be among the lost names of the Magadha dynasty. It is so common a title, and, with a peacock coinage, so natural a name. When, however, we come to Skanda, the case becomes more difficult. It is true his also might be among the lost names. But such a title as "Parama Bhâgavata Sṛī Vikramâditya Skanda Gupta,"⁵ looks so like its Canouge congener, that it is difficult to believe they must not belong to the same king. There is a circumstance, however, regarding this king's coins that does not seem to have been

¹ J. R. A. S. xii., p. 48; Prinsep ii. 91.

² Mr. Newton's paper has not yet been printed in the *Journal of his Society*, but appeared in the "*Overland Times of India*" in July last.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. viii. 223.

⁴ I do not think the difference of spelling here indicated of any importance. Hiouen-Thsang's name was translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and from Chinese into French, and might easily have been more changed in the process.

⁵ J. R. A. S. xii. 68.

observed. If, for instance, we take the representation of the face, figs. 50, 51, on the plate last quoted, they show a marked degradation from the coins of Budha Gupta; and, in so far as numismatic evidence is concerned, would reverse the order in which we know these kings succeeded one another, in the Canouge dynasty. It is also difficult to understand how a king whose mints could issue such coins as, for instance, Plate vi. fig. 18, in the same volume, could possibly be content with such rude specimens of the art as those last quoted. All this may be capable of being explained; but till this is done, it seems to me to render the evidence of workmanship in coins of singularly little value in determining either dates, or the identity of kings.

It may also be remarked that the Sah coinage of the Guptas is as remarkable for what it omits as what it contains. We have no coins of either Samudra or of the two Chandra Guptas, though there is reason to believe they were among the most powerful kings of their family, and their coins of the Canouge type are even more common than those of the three kings above named.

All this is so vague and unsatisfactory that I would have little hesitation about suggesting that the coinages belonged to the two different families if it stopped there; but there seems to be an unpublished coin of Toramâna,¹ about whose date there is no doubt; and there exists other evidence of connection,² between the Sah Gupta coinage and that of Toramâna, which, I fear at present, at least render this solution untenable. It seems worth while, however, putting it forward, as, when examined by persons more competent to judge of its merits than I am, it may lead to some important results either for or against the Gupta dates.

Even if we are forced to abandon the idea of the coins belonging to two different dynasties,³ it by no means follows that some other satisfactory solution of the problem may not be discovered. The simplest course would be to adopt Bhau Daji's date for the

¹ Thomas' Prinsep, i. 340

² *Loc cit.* ii. 95.

³ The existence of these two families may, perhaps, be the cause of Albirûni's mistake. There certainly were Guptas before 318 as well as after. He may have confounded the one with the other.

Sah kings, in that case they would, by extending down to 376, overlap the Guptas to a considerable extent, and so get over all the difficulties of the connexion between the two coinages. I don't think myself that this is the true solution, but I feel quite certain that it will be found much more in conformity with the facts to bring the Sahs down than to take the Guptas up. For the reasons above given I look on the dates of the Guptas as undoubted, and, consequently, whichever theory we adopt, they must not be disturbed.

A third solution would be to assume simply that the Gupta coins were inferior mintages, issued by some of the Gupta kings for local purposes, and that they were, and were meant to be, mere copies of coins with which the people in those places had long been familiar. This seems to be by no means an improbable view of the case. Nothing is more purely conventional than the stamps on money. We now imitate Roman coins, and put Latin inscriptions on them, and there seems no reason why the Guptas in the fifth century may not have found it expedient, in addition to their own beautiful coins, to issue a lower class of money, on which they tried to copy the previously current forms as closely as possible.

I have now stated fully, and I hope fairly, the whole of the difficulties arising out of these coinages, in so far as they seem to bear on the dates I am now advocating. I have done this in deference to the great names who attach such importance to the evidence of these coins, though my own impression is that it is a work of supererogation. As in the case of the Skanda Gupta Junagar incscription, a recent reading seems to me to have put the case beyond the limit of controversy.

As far back as 1859, Mr. Thomas deciphered the name Bhattachāraka on a large number of coins found in Guzerat,¹ and subsequently Mr. Justice Newton published four of the coins in 1862, and fully confirmed this reading² and neither of these gentlemen dispute the fact, that though the names have not yet been read they must belong to kings of the Balabhi family, the descendants of Bhattachāraka or Bhatārka.

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. vi. p. lxxii.

² *Loc. cit.* pl. 2, pl. 1, and p. xiii.

Now, assuming for the sake of argument, that neither the Guptas nor the Balabhi kings, nor any body else ever dated either coin or inscription from the Balabhi era—which is the view of the case now almost universally adopted—still, all are agreed as to the succession; no one disputes that the Sahs came first, after them the Guptas, and then the Balabhis. If we allow 200 for the first we cannot allow less than 150 years for the Guptas, and we must admit fifty or some such number of years before the Senâpatis of the Balabhi dynasty became Mahârâjas and coined money. These coins are depicted on Mr. Newton's plate just referred to, ranging through four centuries at least, with a change in design and execution so infinitesimally small that a layman could hardly tell which is the first or which is the last. There is a gradation I admit, but it is not so great as can be traced between the best and worst of Skanda Gupta's coins,¹ in so far as execution is concerned. There are differences in the forms of the inscription which are clearly pointed out by Mr. Newton in his paper just referred to, but they are so small as only to be discernable by the initiated. Be this, however, as it may, one thing I fancy no one will dispute, which is that the whole Gupta period, 150 or 165 years, elapsed between the last Sah and the first Saurastrian coin of the Bhaṭṭâraka type, and while this is so, and makes so little difference in the coinage, we need make no difficulty, if 100 years elapsed between the last Sah and the first Gupta; but, more than this, now that we have got coins of this type behind the Guptas, as well as before, all that can be said is that this type of coinage endured through the whole of the three dynasties, with as little change from the original conventional type as the skill of the artist employed would admit of. If this is so, any chronological argument based on the evidence of these coins seems to me absolutely worthless.

It may seem strange, according to European experience, that a series of coins should exist through six or seven centuries with so little change; but we must be cautious in applying rules derived from our knowledge of the West to

¹ J. R. A. S. xii., pl. ii., No. 44 to 51.

what may have happened in the East, and in all instances I fancy it a sound rule to adhere to the maxim that history must govern numismatics, and that numismatics must not be allowed to govern history. So far as I can judge, these Bhaṭṭāraka coins, coupled with Skanda Gupta's Junagar inscription, are by themselves sufficient to prove the case; and when to these we can add all the other historical coincidences noticed above, and to be mentioned hereafter, I cannot see that the Gupta era can possibly be considered any longer as doubtful.

Mauryas and Āndhras.

MAURYA DYNASTY, 130 YEARS.				ĀNDHRA DYNASTY—continued.			
			B.C.				A.D.
Chandragupta	...	...	325	Sātakarni I.	...	...	10
Bimbisāra	...	...	301	Pūrṇotsanga	...	...	28
Aśoka	...	...	276	Śrivaswāmī	...	...	46
Suśaṣas	...	...	240	Sātakarni II.	...	...	64
Daśaratha	...	...	230 ?	Lambodara	...	...	120
Sāngata	...	...	220 ?	Apitaka	...	...	138
Indrapālita	...	...	212 ?	Saṅgha	...	...	150
Somaśarman	...	...	210	Sātakarni III.	...	...	168
Śaśadharman	...	...	203	Skandhaswātī	...	...	186
Vrihadratha	...	...	195	Mrigendra	...	...	193
ŚUNGA DYNASTY, 45 YEARS.				Kuntalaswātī	...	...	196
Pushyamitra	...	...	188	Swātikarna	...	...	204
Agnimitra	...	...	152	Pulomāvit	...	...	205
Sujyeshtha	...	...	144	Gorakshāśwaśrī	...	...	241
Vasumitra	...	...	137	Hāla	...	...	266
Ādraka	...	...	129	Mantalaka	...	...	271
Pulindaka	...	...	127	Purindra sena	...	...	276
Ghoshavasū	...	...	124	Sindara	...	...	381
Vajramitra	...	...	121	Rājādaswātī	...	...	6 ms.
Bhāgavata	...	...	112	Śivaswātī	...	...	284
Devabhūti	...	...	86	Gautamiputra	...	...	312
KĀṆVA DYNASTY, 112 YEARS.				Vāsīthi putra	...	...	333
Vāsudeva	...	...	76	Pulomat	...	...	335
Bhūmimitra	...	...	67	Śivaśrī	...	...	363
Nārāyana	...	...	53	Skandaswātī	...	...	370
Suśarman	...	...	41	Yajñaśrī	...	...	377
„ died	...	...	31	Vijaya	...	...	406
ĀNDHRA DYNASTY.				Chandraśrī	...	...	412
Sipraka	...	...	31	Pulomat	...	...	422
Krishna	...	...	A.D. 8	„ died	...	...	429
							or 436

The fixation of the dates of the dynasties anterior to the rise of the great Guptas, rest on somewhat different ground from that of the kings' reigns of which we have just been treating. It is true we have a sufficient number of inscriptions in the Western Caves and elsewhere to fill a volume, and some of them with dates; but generally speaking, like most Buddhist inscrip-

tions, they are the records of the pious munificence of private individuals, or of kings as such. Occasionally the donor mentions the king's reign in which he lived, but never thinks of recording his father's name, or any of those particulars which everybody then knew, but which we would now so like to know. When the king himself is the author of an inscription, instead of boasting of his lineage and his prowess as the Brahmanical kings did, whose inscriptions we have just been treating of—he merely records his name in the humblest terms, as if his only object was to identify the benefaction of which he was the author. It must also be added that these inscriptions have not yet been translated with such critical care as would enable us to place implicit reliance on their indications. This arises in a great measure from the nature of the texts themselves. When an inscription is on a copper-plate or small stone-slab, it can easily be examined by the translator himself, or a rubbing or impression obtained which is nearly equal to the original. The Cave inscriptions, however, are generally so placed and so large, that rubbings or impressions are extremely difficult to be obtained; and as many of them were copied by persons who were not familiar with the character and ignorant of the language in which they were written, errors of transcription were inevitable in spite of the most painstaking desire for accuracy.

All this will no doubt be remedied before long; but meanwhile the Purāṇas fortunately supply us with some information which seems trustworthy for the period we are now treating of, though very little that we can glean from them of what they say of dynasties after the beginning of the fifth century can be depended upon. Before the fifth century, however, they furnish us with a list of dynasties, stated to be consecutive, with the names of the kings, and the length of their reigns and other particulars, all of which are so reasonable and so in accordance with what we find from other sources, that I see very little reason to doubt their general correctness.

The first thing that strikes us in examining these lists is that their authors have not at all events exaggerated the lengths of

the kings' reigns. According to the *Vāyu* and *Matsya*,¹ the whole extended to 736 years, and according to the most lengthened adjustment that can be made—to 761, a difference of only 25 years, which in such a case is of slight importance. During that time 53 or 54 kings reigned, giving an average of very little more than 14 years to each king. Taking even the *Āndhra* kings alone, we have 30 kings reigning 460 years or little more than 15 years each,² so that this at least gives an air of probability to the whole.

We have no difficulty whatever as regards the initial date of this long list of kings. As long ago as Sir William Jones' time, *Chandra Gupta* was recognised as the *Sandracottus* of the Greeks, and generally chronologists have agreed to fix the first year of his reign as 315 B.C. My impression is we can now get even nearer than this. *Aśoka*, in his inscriptions dated in the 12th year after his inauguration, the 16th after his accession, mentions the name of five Greek Kings, among whom was *Magas* of *Cyrene*, who died 257 B.C., and the inscription must therefore be before that date. As I have had occasion before to point out,³ the only year when all these kings were alive together was 256, which we may assume as the 16th of *Aśoka*, with a limit of error of one year either way. His predecessor was *Bimbasāra*, to whom the *Purāṇas* give 25 years; but the *Mahāvanso*, a preferable authority in this case, allows 28, and thus places his accession 300 B.C. Both authorities allow *Chandra Gupta* 24 to 25, so that we cannot well bring his date below 325 B.C.⁴ This date, too, it appears to me, would accord better than 315, with what we learn of this king from *Alexander's* historians, but it is not necessary to go into the question here.

¹ *Wilson*, V. P., p. 484.

² After the destruction of the *Āndhra* kings, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* goes on to say (*Wilson*, p. 474.)—"After these will reign 7 *Ābhīras*, 10 *Garddhabas*, 16 *Śakas*, 8 *Yavanas*, 14 *Tusharas*, 13 *Mundas*, 11 *Maundas*, together 79 princes, who will be sovereigns for 1399 years." We now know that many, if not all of these dynasties were contemporary; but the average of their reigns, which is all we are here concerned with, gives only 17 years and a half, and the other *Purāṇas* with the same number of years, enumerate 85 and 89 kings, so the average duration of their reigns at all events looks like truth.

³ *Quarterly Review*, Sep., 1860, referring to *Justin*, *Historia*, xxvi. 2.

⁴ The *Mahāvanso* (*Turnour's* translation, xlvii.) gives him 34, but this I fancy includes the period of confusion during which the *Brahmin Kautilya* ruled after the death of *Nanda*.

It is much more difficult to get a satisfactory final date for the Āndhra dynasty from external sources. If, however, the Yue-gnai, who sent an embassy to China in 408,¹ is the Yadnya Śrī of our lists, it would settle the question.

The name is so like those it has generally been assumed, that this identity was established, and his date — from Puranic calculation — so closely agrees with this, that its probability may fairly be assumed. We are told, however, that Yue-gnai means, in Chinese, “beloved of the moon,” and as we certainly have a Chandra Śrī, or Chandra Gupta, who was Adhirāja of India, at this date, we must pause before affirming the identity. Whether we assume that he was the first or second of that name, is of no consequence, the date 82 and 93 A.G. at Sanchi Oudeypore are all that is required. There seems, however, very little reason to doubt but that the two kings were contemporary, or nearly so. So little confidence do I feel in the nominal similarity, that I have not, in the table prefixed to this section, attempted to adjust the dates so as to meet it; but as we have a margin of seven years at the end—between 429 and 436—it would have been easy to make it fit exactly. I am inclined to place much more reliance on the coincidence of the name of his grandson Chandra Śrī, in the Vishṇu and Matsya Purāṇas, and Chandra Vijaya, in the Bhāgavat,² with the Chandra Varma Gaṇapati mentioned by Samudra Gupta, in the eighteenth line of his Allahabad inscription.³ If my chronology is correct, the dates fit exactly; and it was just about the time that India resolved itself into four great divisions: the Aṣwapati, or kings of Delhi; the Gajapati, or Lords of Orissa;⁴ the Narapati, or Cholas⁵ of the south, and the Gaṇapatis, who occupied the central portions, which are now known generally as the Nizam’s territories. This is just such a position as we would expect an Āndhra dynasty to occupy after the death of their last great monarch Yadnya Śrī, and the rise of the power of the Guptas.

¹ De Guigne’s *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. p. 45.

² Wilson’s V. P. p. 473.

³ J. A. S. B. vi. 963; Thomas’ Prinsep, i. 237.

⁴ Ayeen Akbaree; Stirling’s *Cuttack*, A. R. xv. 255.

⁵ Prinsep’s *Useful Tables*, xl., Thomas’ edition, 275.

I am the more inclined to rely on this identification, because in the same line we have a Rudradeva, who, no doubt, was the Rudra Sena¹ of the Vindya Sakti line above alluded to.

The grouping of all these names together, to my mind, certainly indicates a contemporaneousness of date, and even if it should turn out that the Sanchi Chandra Gupta is the second of the line, this makes very little difference, as we have two Rudras, so we have two Pravarasenas and two or three Chandras. In certain epochs of Indian history certain names seem to go in bunches, and though it is puzzling occasionally to discriminate among them, their presence is a sure indication of their age, and, to my mind, establishes the correctness of the Purâṇas in placing Chandra Śrî in the first thirty years of the fifth century.²

If these identifications should be sustained, they would go far to prove that the two Gupta dates—82 and 93 A.G.—which we possess, belong to the first, and not to the second, Chandra Gupta; and consequently that the Samudra of the Allahabad inscription ascended the throne after 411 A.D., which I confess, from many circumstances, I think the most probable arrangement. If this is so, it is not impossible that the Hastivarna of the 17th line of the same inscription, may be the Śrî Hastina of the Benares copper plates.³ To enable this to be so, would require that the latter should have reigned more than 40 years. Though not impossible, it is so improbable, that it is hardly worth insisting upon till further information crops up.

Before leaving this inscription it may be worth while pointing out that in the same line—the 18th, we have Nâgadatta and the Nâga Nâgasena, who are, no doubt, the Nâga kings mentioned in the Purâṇas, in the same line with the Guptas,⁴ and so mixed up with them, that Wilford⁵

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S. vi. pt. ii. p. 66.

² In Prinsep's Useful Tables, as published in Calcutta, in 1834, p. 100, Chandra Śrî is dated 428 A.D., which is exactly the date I would assign to him. I do not know, however, what the authority for this is.

³ Thomas' Prinsep i., 251.

⁴ Wilson's V.P., 479.

⁵ A. R. ix., 115.

assumed them to be identical. Indeed, I believe that now we have got hold of the clue, every name mentioned by Samudra Gupta could be identified, if any competent Sanskrit scholar would undertake the task.

By far the most important name in this dynasty, however, is Gotamiputra. From the inscription engraved by his widow on the Nassick Cave,¹ as well as from other sources, we learn that he was Mahârâja Adhirâja of India; that he had conquered all those countries which Rudra Sah in the bridge inscription boasts that he possessed;² and his name occurs so often and so prominently, that it would be most important that his date should be ascertained if possible.

As before mentioned, the enumeration of the Ândhra lists allows a margin of about 20 to 30 years on comparing the additions of the reigns in the Matsya with the totals quoted in the other Purânas. This may be adjusted either by filling up the list from the other Purânas, or by giving these years to the successor of this king, who according to the Nassick inscription, seems to have been Vasitiputra, the father of Pulomavi, who figures as his son in the Puranic lists.

The discrepancy, however, is very much reduced by allowing Yadnya Śrî 29 years, which, according to the Vishnu and Vâyu Purânas, was the true length of his reign, instead of the nine years of the Matsya.³ Not only are these better authorities, but from his numerous inscriptions and coins we learn how important the king really was, and it seems impossible to limit his reign to the shorter date. I look on him as practically the last of the Ândhra's, and that it was from him that Chandra Gupta wrested the Adhirâjaship of India. Be this as it may, this evidence, as far as it goes, places Gotamiputra certainly in the beginning of the fourth century. It may be that he ascended the throne in 312 or 318, or even a little later, but he cannot be removed far from this period.⁴

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. v. 42. ² J.B.B.R.A.S. vi. p. ii. p. 120. ³ Wilson, V.P., p. 473.

⁴ There are two dates in the Nassick inscriptions I. and II. J.B.B.R.A.S., v. 42 and 47, which, as they at present stand translated, seem to conflict with each other. The first is 19 from an unspecified era, but seems to be in the reign of

From the first time I read Turnour's abstract of the Daladávanso,¹ I felt convinced from the internal evidence that this was the king who figures on these curious episodes, but the name there being given merely as Pându it is impossible to prove this. Curiously enough we have at Kanheri an inscription on a copper-plate extracted from a Dagoba there, which mentions this very relic with a date 245² or 325 A.D., which is just about the date mentioned in the Ceylonese annals. The king's name is apparently Kripa or Karna, only a relation of the exalted Śrāmi Karna of the victorious Āndhrabhṛitya family. Considerable doubt, however, hangs over this reading, as the plate is not forthcoming, and Dr. Stevenson was forced to trust to an indifferent copy. Whether Gotamiputra is hereafter discovered or not under any of these titles, we have the Āndhras in power at the date we are treating of, and that for our present purpose is sufficient.

In another place I have touched on the architectural evidence which render this date for the Nassick Cave almost certain,³ and there are a number of little incidents of an architectural character which do not allow me to doubt it. If this is so, we come to a curious historical inference, which is that this king must really have been the founder of Balabhi and the establisher of that era. According to Mr. Justice Newton, the Sah dates extend down to 235 A.D., with one or two doubtful names afterwards. This would allow time for the rise of the Āndhras on their ruins and the foundation of a new capital of Western India by Gotamiputra in 318. According to this view Śrī Gupta would have been viceroy to the Āndhras; but it is by no means necessary that his rule

Padma or Pulumāvi, the successor of Gotamiputra, and if this is so, and as Dr. Stevenson conjectures it is the Balabhi era, it would make that era commence with the death of the great king. The second is in the 24th year of the "Modern era," and the act recorded is apparently by order of Gotamiputra. This would make the foundation of the era coincident with the accession and the inscription date three years after his death, as he reigned only 21 years. These discrepancies can only be settled by a careful re-examination of the texts. My impression meanwhile is, that the Balabhi era dates from his accession, and consequently six years after the date which from Purāṇic calculations I have assigned to that event.

¹ J. A. S. B. vi. p.

² J. B. R. A. S. vol. v. 33. See also J. R. A. S., N. S., vol. iii. p. 150.

³ Tree and Serpent Worship, pp. 84 and 168.

should be contemporary with the foundation of the city, or extend to so early a period. Any of Gotamiputra's successors anterior to Yadnya Śrī may have appointed him as Bhāṭṭāraka Senāpati was afterwards by Śilāditya, and as in the latter case, his grandson founded the greatness of his family in the decline and decay of that of his patrons. The one point I would insist on here is that Gotamiputra was Lord Paramount of India in 318-19 when the Balabhi era was established, probably on the building of the city. It was afterwards the western capital of both the Guptas and the Saurāstrian Bhāṭṭārakas, and to me, at least, it appears quite certain that both these families dated all their coins and inscriptions from this era.¹

It may be difficult to prove all this absolutely. In the present state of our information perhaps impossible, but on a fair balance of all the probabilities of the case this view seems to me to accord perfectly with all the evidence I am acquainted with, and I know of no other scheme which meets the exigencies of the case in anything like an equal degree.

Sah Kings of Saurāshtra.

SAH KINGS OF SAURASTRA.

Nahapana ...	...	...	B.C. 57	Īṣvara Datta.			
Ushavadāta ...	...	...	11	Vijaya Sāh ...	...	...	115
Swāmi Chastana ...	...	...	A.D. 10	Dāmajāta Śrī.			
Jaya Dāmā				Rudra Sāh ...	...	...	131, 141
Jīva Dama ...	...	...	38	Viṣva Sinha...	...	...	143
Rudra Dāman.				Atri Dāman...	...	...	153, 157
Rudra Sinha ...	...	...	45-47	Viṣva Sāh ...	...	...	160, 168
Rudra Sāh.				22. Rudra Sinha ...	...	...	173 or 213
Śrī Sāh.				Āṣā Dāman.			
Saṅgha Dāman.				Swāmi Rudra Sāh ...	...	...	223, 235
Dāman Sāh.				Swāmi Rudra Sāh II.			
Yaśa Dāman.				Swāmi Rudra Sāh ...	...	...	223, 235
Dāmajāta Śrī	...	...	97	Swāmi Rudra Sāh.			
Vīra Dāman.							

Only one inscription of this dynasty has yet been brought to light—the celebrated Bridge inscription of Rudra Dāman—

¹ In the above I have avoided all allusion to each identification of Indian names with those recorded by Greek or Latin authors. The difficulties are sufficiently great when a name is repeated in two places in some nearly similar Indian languages, but when the difference is so great as between Greek or Chinese with Sanskrit or Pali, the similarities of sound are so untrustworthy as to be of little or no value, and had better be put on one side till, at least, the investigation is further advanced.

and we, therefore, depend almost wholly on their coins for our knowledge of the existence of this family, as well as for their dates. As before mentioned, the three principal authorities differ to the extent of 235 years as to the era from which these coins should be dated, a circumstance which does not inspire us with much confidence in numismatic evidence, in so far at least as India is concerned.

I confess myself quite unable to follow Mr. Thomas's reasoning on the subject, and as I believe the Śrī Harsha era from which he dates them is merely a blunder of Albīrūnī's, and had no real existence, we may for the present, at least, put it on one side, pending some further elucidation, which its author may bring to bear on the subject.

Bhau Daji's initial date (78 A.D.) appears to me equally untenable, except in the contingency before mentioned: that it may be found necessary that the Sāhs should overlap the Guptas, in order to explain the anomalies of their coinage. As my own conviction, for reasons given above, is, that this will not be necessary, it also, may be passed over for the present.

On the other hand, Mr. Justice Newton's theory, which would place Nahapana about 56 B.C., seems to me to suit perfectly all the exigencies of the case, so far as I at least am acquainted with them.

If I am correct in agreeing with Dr. Stevenson, that Devabhūti, B.C. 86, was the excavator of the great Karli cave,¹ the position of the Nahapana inscriptions, there and elsewhere, would be easily explicable, and the whole series of cave inscriptions brought into strict accordance with their architecture. The date, too, in Rudra Dāman's Bridge inscription,² would also be in accordance with what we know. It is dated in 72 of the Sāh era,—according to this view A.D. 15; and he states that “after twice thoroughly conquering Śātakarni, lord of Dakshinapatha, he did not completely destroy him on account of their near connexion.” Now, according to my calculation, Śātakarni I. reigned from A.D. 10 to 28. This would accord perfectly, and if there were no other king of

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S. v. 163.

² J.B.B.R.A.S. vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 18.

that name, would be final; but as there are several of the same name in the dynasty it is not altogether decisive; it would, however, be extremely difficult to fit any other of that name to this date; on Mr. Thomas's theory it would be impossible. At present, therefore, it can only be put down as only one of the curious coincidences which occur, but which are so numerous as to amount to something like proof positive.

Another important indication is Gotamiputra's boast, if Bhau Daji's translation is to be depended upon, that he had exterminated the descendants of Khajarāta (pali) Kshaharāta (Sanskrit),¹ who can hardly be other than this race. Be this as it may, for reasons stated above it seems to me indispensable for history that they should have ceased to reign before Gotamiputra raised his family to pre-eminence on that side of India. I may also add that it seems extremely probable that these Sah kings may be identified with the Yuē-che, at least, if any stress may be laid upon such a passage as the following: Ma-twan-lin, after stating that the Yuē-che conquered India, about 26 B.C., goes on to say that "they having become extremely rich and powerful, remained in the state till the time of the latter Hans, who began to reign A.D. 222." "It results from hence," says our translator "that the Scythians must have been masters of Western India, from about B.C. 26 till A.D., 222, that is for a space of 248 years. The first invasion of India, by the Yuē-che or Scythians must have taken place before the reign of Vikramāditya, whose celebrated era began fifty-six years before ours, and originated from a complete defeat of the Scythian armies by that prince." (See Colebrooke's *Indian Algebra*, Lassen, etc.)²

Having reached this celebrated era, I wish to broach a theory regarding it, which will at first sight, I have no doubt, appear utterly untenable; but which, if true, will clear away most of the difficulties of the chronology of this period. My conviction is that no such person as the Śakāri Vikramāditya ever existed anterior to the Christian era, or within some hundreds of years of that time.

¹ J. B. E. R. A. S. vi., p. 117.

² J. A. S. B. vol. vi., p. 63.

In the first place, the Puranic lists are very full and consistent about this period, but no Purâṇa hints at the existence of such a prince. He belonged to no royal family. He possessed no recognizable kingdom, and had no descendants. No coin of his has ever been found, nor does his name occur in any of the multifarious inscriptions of the period;¹ and all the events of his reign are unhistorical and mythical to an extent which occurs with no other king of the period. Take, for instance, the defeat of the Sacæ just mentioned 57 B.C. Albîrûnî states—and though he generally blunders, he must have had some authority—“L'ère de Saca est postérieure à celle de Vikramâditya de 135 ans. Saca est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Vikramâditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute et le tua sur le territoire de Korour,” etc.² Vikramâditya, according to this account, must have been nearly 200 years old when he did all this. But it is only one among many instances which have so puzzled Wilford, and all those who have even meddled with the question.

My impression is, that some time after Vikramâditya of Malwa had rendered the name so celebrated, the Hindus, on the revival of Brahminism, wished to possess an era which should, at least, be older than the Buddhist era of Sâlivâhana. At that time the Sah era, established by Nahapana, was vacant, having fallen into disuse on the destruction of that dynasty, and its supercession by the era of Balabhi, and that the Hindus then appropriated it by attaching to it the name it now bears, and inventing the history requisite to render its adoption feasible,³

This theory would not only have the advantage of fixing the date of Nahapana with certainty as 57 B.C., but it would clear away an amount of rubbish which has puzzled and disgusted

¹ The Vikramâditya, mentioned in Gotamiputra's inscription (J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. v. p. 43), is evidently, from the company in which he is named, of pre-historic antiquity.

² Thomas' Prinsep, vol. i. p. 268.

³ I am very much inclined to agree with Bhau Daji when he says, that nothing is dated from this era before the 11th century, (J. B. B. R. A. S. viii. p. 242). There is certainly more truth in the assertion than appears at first sight. My impression is, that the era was invented in the age of Bhoja (A.D. 993), or rather by the revived Châlukyas, A.D. 973, 1003 (J. R. A. S. vol. iv. p. 4).

every one who has approached this branch of the subject.¹ It would, besides this, remove all the uncertainty which now exists as to whether the Śaka or Samvat eras should be used for coins or inscriptions, where neither are specified.

I cannot myself feel any doubt about the matter, and I would therefore ask others at all events to consider it dispassionately. If they do so, I feel confident they will arrive at the same result as I have done.

Buddhist Chronology.

37 DESCENTS IN 600? YEARS FROM YUDHISHTHIRA.

ŚAIṢUNĀGA DYNASTY.							
Śiṣunāga	...	...	691	Udayaśwa	...	...	519
Kākavarna.	...	...		Daśaka...	...	...	503
Kshemadharman.	...	...		Nāgadāśoka	...	...	495
Kshetraujas.	...	...		Śiṣunāga	...	...	471
Bimbisāra	...	...	603	Kālāśoka	...	...	453
	<i>Kanvāpana</i> , 9.			Mahā Nanda	...	...	425
	<i>Bhūmiputra</i> , 14.			Sumālya.			
Ajātaśatru	...	...	551	7 Nandas.			
				<i>Interregnum, Kauṭilya, ending</i> 325			

When the Hon. Geo. Turnour first examined the Ceylonese annals, he became aware of a discrepancy of about sixty years, existing between the time of the death of Buddha and the accession of Aśoka, as stated in the Mahāvanso, when compared with the conclusion we have arrived at from Puranic and Grecian sources. In other words, assuming the true date of the Nirvāṇa to be 543, which the Ceylonese, the Burmese, and all the Indo-Chinese nations insist upon as absolute, and reckoning the reigns thence, this chronology places the accession of Chandra Gupta 162 A.B. or 381 B.C., instead of 325, which as we have shown above, is certainly his true date, within very narrow limits of error either way.²

Now that we know all the circumstances of the case, it does not appear to me difficult to see either why this false adjustment was made, nor how it was effected.

The first civilized king of Ceylon, according to their annals, was Vijayo. He landed from the opposite coast,

¹ In the Ayeen Akbaree (vol. ii. p. 54), it is stated that Bhoja, the son of Munja, succeeded in 541 of the era of Vikramāditya. As no one now believes that this Bhoja lived before the very end of the tenth century, it looks very like as if he dated from the son of Bahram Gour, not from the Śakāri; but wherever you find this era, there is nothing but confusion.

² Turnour's Mahāvanso, p. 48; J.A.S.B. vol. vi. p. 714, &c.

probably introduced Buddhism, or, at all events, was the founder of that dynasty who held the sovereignty of the island for long afterwards. The Ceylonese annalists state that his landing was in the same year with the death of the founder of the religion; a coincidence so remarkable, as to look very like such a pious fraud, as is too common with priests in all ages. If we assume that it took place 56 or 60 years after the Nirvāṇa, the whole difficulty vanishes, and all the synchronisms come right.

The mode in which the adjustment was effected was simply by taking the requisite number of years from the dynasty of the Nandas, to whom the Purāṇas give 100 years,¹ the Mahāvanso only 44. These Nandas seem to have been a low caste race; the Vishṇu Purāṇa calls them Śūdras, and the Buddhist annalists have not a kind word to say for them. If I am correct in assuming that the coins depicted in the 7th vol. of the Journal of the Bengal Society, plate 48, belong to this family, they were serpent worshippers, whom consequently the Buddhists would not hesitate in putting on one side. Be this as it may, both the Ceylonese and Burmese² annals agree in placing the accession of Mahā Padma, the first Nanda, in 425 B.C. On the other hand, our calculations from Greek synonyms place the accession of Chandra Gupta 325, leaving exactly the 100 years of the Purāṇas between these dates, which, therefore, I feel very little doubt in assuming as correct, or very nearly so.

This period includes of course the ten and twelve years of anarchy, usually called the expiation of Chāṇakya, which intervenes between the death of the last Nanda and the accession of Chandra Gupta.

The Ceylonese annals desert us on the accession of Bimbisāro, who ascended the throne of Magadha 603 B.C., and in whose 16th year Śākya Muni attained Buddhahood, in the 35th year of his age. The Burmese annals help us back to an era they call that of Anjana, 691 B.C.³ They call this the

¹ V. P. p. 468; Mahawanso, p. xlvii. *et seq.*

² Bigandet, Life and Legend of Buddha, p. 371. Crawford's Embassy to Ava, Appendix viii.

³ Bigandet and Crawford, *Loc. cit.*

era of the great grandfather of Buddha, but this is a mistake; the family of the founder of this religion was entirely subordinate to those of Magadha, and all the dates we have in Buddhist annals belong to the latter family.¹ In the Purāṇas we have four kings' names from Śiṣunāga, the founder of the family, to Bimbisāro,² which may very well be assumed to fill up the 88 years that occurred between these events.

All this appears to me so reasonable and so perfectly in accordance with all the historical facts which have yet come to light, that I have no hesitation in assuming that as far back as 691 B.C. we may walk with confidence, and that a very slight adjustment occurring of the dates given above, for events after that date will hereafter be found necessary. The sequence of events I look upon as nearly certain.

Early Chronology.

Beyond 691 B.C. we have little to guide us except the doctrine of averages, but unsatisfactory as that may be, there are one or two circumstances that induce me to think that the early chronology of the Hindus ought not to be so entirely rejected as is too generally the case.

From Arrian³ and Pliny⁴ we learn that when the Greeks—probably Megasthenes—were there, the pandits of these days presented them with lists of kings, 153 or 154 in number, who reigned before Alexander. Now, if we count the lists of Solar kings from Ikshwāku to Vrihadratha, and they certainly were the supreme race during the two first ages, and then follow the Lunar line from the Mahābhārata to Chandra Gupta, we get 150 descents; and if we count from Marīchi the 154 of Pliny. This is so far satisfactory as it tends to prove that we have now the same lists as were shown to the Greeks more than 2000 years ago.

¹ So little importance do I attach to the family of Śākya Muni in a chronological point of view, that I would not allude to them even in a note, if it were not that the Purāṇas have been blamed for making Śākya the father of Suddhodana instead of the son (Wilson, V. P., p. 463). They are quite correct, however. It is only one of the 1001 instances in which we find a king or prince adopting his grandfather's name.

² V. P. 466.

³ Indica, cix.

⁴ Nat. Hist., vi. c. 17.

Arrian makes these kings reign 6042 years, Pliny 5402 ; and though both are inadmissible, they show that the monstrous system of Yugas had not then been invented, and the falsification had not gone beyond the extent of duplication.

Applying to these lists the average we obtained above, of 16 years, we get back to about 2800 B.C. But if we apply 18 years, which does not appear to me at all an extravagant average, considering how many insignificant names must have dropped out of so long a list, we get back almost exactly to the date of the Kali Yug, 3101 B.C.

This I cannot help considering as a true date. It does not make an even sum from any known Indian era. It is not a multiple or sub-multiple of any epoch, and stands, and always has stood, alone in Indian Chronology as something unaccounted for. The three previous Yugas are avowedly astronomical calculations, and are useless for chronological purposes, but not so this one. It may be the date at which it was supposed the Aryans first crossed the Indus, and it may be the epoch of some event that took place in Central Asia before they left their original seats ; but it appears to me hardly to admit of a doubt, that it is a true date handed down from generation to generation.

If we take it as I have put it above, and apply the average to each king's reign, the events of the Rāmāyana took place about 2000 years B.C. ; those of the Mahābhārata about 1300 B.C. These may not be considered as very satisfactory determinations, but they are probably as near the truth as anything we are now likely ever to attain.

I have now run through the whole subject of Indian Chronology, stating as briefly, as was compatible with clearness, the views I entertain regarding the various epochs which have come under consideration. I need hardly say that it would have been easy to have extended these remarks to more than twice their present extent without saying all, or nearly all, that could be said on the subject. Even then, however, I should have been obliged to leave out the architectural argument which has been the thread I most rely

upon to guide us through the labyrinth. I look upon it as absolutely certain that there is a gradual progression in the style of architectural buildings in India, as there is in every country in the world, and once it is mastered, the succession is certain. The only difficulty is that sometimes the progress is faster, sometimes slower, and it requires care not to be led away by adopting too uniform a scale in this respect. But retrogression is always impossible, and caprice hardly ever interferes in any degree. It is my knowledge of Indian architecture that gives me confidence in the scheme of chronology propounded in the previous pages. The numismatist or scholar must, of course, be allowed in like manner to apply their own test, and if we differ, it is for others to decide which class of evidence is most entitled to acceptance. As I cannot here adduce the details of the architectural argument, I can only state that I have found it accord throughout so perfectly with all the historical facts I am acquainted with, that I feel very great confidence that the chronological scheme propounded in the preceding pages will eventually be established, in all its leading or essential features.¹

¹ Since the above paper was in type, a curious instance of the prevalence of the Balabhi era has been brought to my notice. An inscription has been found in the Temple of Ambernath, near Kalyan, opposite Bombay. It is dated Samvat 782. As the Temple is certainly not earlier than the end of the 11th century, this must be from the foundation of the city of Balabhi. The character of the alphabet in which it is written fully confirms this ascription.

ART. III.—*The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, of Arragon.*

By the Hon. H. E. J. STANLEY.

IN the preceding number of the Journal, this poem had reached the birth of Abraham: the portion contained in the present issue consists of the life of Abraham, the history of the line of Isaac ending with Jesus Christ, and the line of Ishmael down to Heshim, great-grandfather of Muhammad. The description of the sacrifice of Ishmael brings to mind the mysteries or plays in which Abraham's sacrifice of his son is still represented in Spain at the Church festivals.

In the account of Abraham going on his way to the sacrifice, Rabadan has interwoven a legend which is Rabbinical rather than Mussulman; according to this legend, Abraham saw in a vision the mysterious foundations of the Earth, by which he understood that the designs of Providence are incomprehensible. Mr. Morgan has given this passage a little differently from what it is in the original, and a note in the British Museum MS., apparently in his handwriting, says, *Aqui ay un grande yerro de el autor*, "here the author has made a great mistake!" and the word *cuestas* de un toro, on the back of a bull, has been erased; and the word *cuernos*, horns, written in the margin in the same handwriting; his translation is, "He extended his sight as far as his eyes could reach, and beheld, O wonderful prospect! this earthly globe the world resting upon the point of a bull's horn, the bull standing upon a great fish, which fish lay extended upon a vast lake of water."

With respect to this account of the sacrifice, Mr. Deutsch informs me that, "the Talmud and the various Midrashim

contain, *mutatis mutandis* nearly all the legendary features in this poem. The story of the sacrifice is a favourite subject of the early Jewish Haggadists, and the manner in which Satan—Sammael—appears here successively in his three characters as accuser, seducer, and angel of death, is as characteristic as are the different guises under which he tries to gain the confidence of the *Dramatis Personæ*. As regards the primitive unstable nature of the Kosmos and the manifold expedients resorted to for its more firm and final foundation, the Haggadah contains two very striking passages. The one (Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, p. 5) speaks of the succession of dissolutions that followed one another; reducing creation to ever new chaos—"even as a great palace, built by mortal man, the foundations of which are not finally laid, and which swayeth hither and thither, until God created *Repentance*; and the Universe stood." The other passage (Pesachim, 118a) indicates *God's Mercy* as the only link that held the universe together before the Revelation of the Law."

Padre de Mariam la limpia,
En el mundo especialada.

Morgan gives the following passage in a note to these lines:—"To all this the expositors [of the Koran] add several traditions of the Eastern Christians, which but for them 'tis probable had been lost. One of them is, that God (according to the Alcoran) preserved her and her son from the Devil. Houssain Vaes, a noted historian, expounds this preservation in these words:—'No child, says he, is born into the world, that the Devil does not touch and handle till he makes it cry, and except Miriam and her son, none were ever preserved and exempted from this handling.'—This tradition seems to have some allusion to Original Sin."—Morgan, vol. i. p. 183.

None of the genealogies of Muhammad are exact, or authoritatively established.

The next portion of this poem will contain the history of Heshim, the great-grandfather, Abdulmutalib, the grandfather, and Abdallah, the father of the Prophet.

YSTORIA DE YBRAHIM ALEHISALEM, COMPUESTA EN
 VERSO SUELTO: COMIENZA DESDE SU NACIMIENTO
 Y LO QUE LE VINO CON EL REY NAMERUD.

Él que nació de sus obras
 Cercado en el monte seco,
 Tuviendo por Padre y madre
 Solo las dimes¹ del cielo;
 Él que de catorce dias
 Despues de su nacimiento
 Conoció al sostenedor²
 Del cielo y sus movimientos;
 Él que en vez de los regalos
 Que dan á los niños tiernos
 Sus padres lo apedrearon,
 Aquellos inicos perros;
 Él que de sus mismos padres
 Fué tan perseguido, y puesto
 En poder de su enemigo,
 Para ponello en el fuego.
 Este es aquel justo Ybráhim
 Á quien su madre en pariendo,
 Lo llevó á una cueva oscura
 De un monte desierto y negro,
 Por guardalle del cuchillo³
 De aquel Rey falso y sediento
 Namerud de quien se cuentan
 Tan endemoniados hechos.
 Este vidó en su dormir
 Un triste infierno protento
 Que le desasosegaba
 Su falso y maldito pecho;
 Y fué que en aquellos dias
 Vió que nacio un mancebo,
 Que su falsa adoracion⁴
 Le abatía por el suelo.
 Es de saber que este Rey
 Tenia mandamiento espreso
 Que le adorasen sus gentes
 Como Dios alto y supremo;
 Y él adoraba en los ydolos
 Hechos de barro y madera,
 Al que le llamaban Teraq,⁵
 Muy dorado y muy compuesto.

Ajuntó sus adivinos,
 Y todos se resolvieron
 Que pasasen⁶ á cuchillo
 Los niños nacidos tiernos:
 Y por acertar á este
 Que fué llevado al desierto,
 Degolló doze mil niños
 El tirano torpe y ciego.⁷
 Pues quando vino la noche
 Sobre el triste niño tierno,⁸
 Ya le apretaba la hambre
 Quando en el mismo momento
 Bajó Chebril, y le puso
 En la boca sus dos dedos;
 Por el uno distilaba
 Dulce leche, y ansi mesmo
 Por el otro miel sabrosa,
 Y aquel era su sustento.
 Pues á los catorce dias
 Que tuvo su nacimiento,
 Ya levantó la cabeza
 Y vió en el cielo un luzero,
 Y dixó: "este es sin duda
 El Señor que servir debo."
 Y como vió que se puso
 Debajo del hemisferio,
 Dixó: "no adoro Señor
 Que se traspone tan presto."
 Vió despues salir la luna
 Muy clara y resplandeciente,
 Y dixó: este es mi Señor;
 Mas en ver que se habia puesto
 Dixó: yo seré perdido
 Si no me acude el remedio."
 Pasó ansi toda la noche
 Maginando y trascendiendo,
 Quel alma que Dios la toca
 Jamas puede estar durmiendo.
 Y quando fué el claro dia,⁹
 Vió salir el claro Febo

¹ Climas, P. ² Sustentador, P.

³ Teraq, P. ⁴ Pusiesen, P.

⁵ Quando vino la mañana, P.

⁶ De la saña, P.

⁷ Perro, P.

⁸ Ydolatria, P.

⁹ Hieto, P.

Y dixó : este es mi Señor
 Ques mayor que todos estos ;
 Y viendó que hechó¹ el camino
 Que los otros habian hecho
 Dixó : “ no creo en Señores
 Que no quieren estar quedos ; ”
 Todos estos son guiados
 Por un solo movimiento,
 Y en aquel que los gobierna
 Creo, adoro y reverencio,
 Y afirmo ques uno solo
 Quien crió la tierra y cielo,
 Y á el procaro² mi cara
 Sin poner le otro aparcero.
 En esto cayó azaxdado,³
 Adorando y bendiciendo,
 Conociendo á su Hacedor
 Por conjunturas⁴ del cielo.
 Pues como su madre estaba
 Siempre con aquel recelo,
 Pusóle Alláh en voluntad
 Que fuese á ver si era muerto.
 Fue y como llegó á la cueva
 Topó con aquel mancebo
 Que sin tiempo fué criado,
 Sin aprender con maestro
 Estaba en tierra azaxdado ;
 Y dixole : “ Yá⁵ mancebo,
 Por ventura has visto un niño
 Que hoy hace el día quinzeno
 Que lo dexé en esta cueva,
 Y no sé que se habrá hecho.”
 Bráhim se dió á conocer
 Á su madre, y ella luego
 Lo tomó sobre sus brazos
 Con muy crecido contento ;
 Y dixóle “ ¿ á quien adoras
 Tan postrado por el suelo ?
 Suele estar aquí postrado
 El que adoramos y creemos ?⁶ ”
 Dixó : “ Madre ! yo he mirado
 El cielo y sus movimientos,
 El sol, la luna y estrellas,
 Y he visto que todos estos
 Van andando y se trasponen
 Ninguno puede estar quedo ;
 Y yo afirmo que hay Señor

Que gobierna á todos estos,
 Ques bueno, y á aquel adoro,
 Y á él reverencio y creo ;
 Y todo lo que se adora
 Despues de este adoramiento
 Es falso de sin verdad,
 De quien descreo y reniego.”
 La madre que lo tenia
 En brazos, luego en oyendo
 Que no adora á Namerud
 Deposito del infierno ;
 Despidelo de sus brazos
 Con grande desasosiego,
 Persuadiendole que adore
 Aquel maldito argumento
 Quel axaitan les enseña
 Para el camino del fuego.
 Dixó el hijo : “ ¿ no has verguenza
 De tan torpe pensamiento ?
 Afirmo lo que yo afirmo
 Ques camino salvo y cierto.”
 La falsa madre que vió
 El determinado intento,
 Alzó su mano y le dió
 Un bofeton, y tras desto,
 Toma piedras y le tira
 Á su rostro hermoso y bello,
 Y con muy rabiosa yra
 Vuelve á su casa corriendo
 Á llamar á su marido
 Con infernal prosupuesto ;
 Y en llegando á él le dice :
 “ Oye, Ezar, un gran secreto,
 Sabrás que quando pari
 Aquel niño, con el duelo
 De no vello degollado
 Como los que mas⁷ lo fueron,
 Luego lo saqué á los montes,
 Y para hacer mas secreto
 Lo puse dentro una cueva ;
 Y agora quando me he vuelto
 Pensando hallarlo comido
 De algun animal hambriento,
 O muerto de hambre y sed,
 Lo hé hallado sano y bueno,
 Azaxdado á otro Señor
 Que adora menos del nuestro.

¹ Hizó, P. ² Protraso, P. ³ Azaxhedado, P. ⁴ Conjeturas, P. ⁵ Dí, P.

⁶ Sin estar aquí el Señor

Que adoramos y creemos, P.

⁷ MS. Paris.

⁸ Demas, P.

Aunque mas lo¹ he persuadido,
 Jamas quizó hacer mi ruego;
 Pues si habiendo ayer nacido,
 No nos guarda mas respeto,
 Que hará siendo criado?
 Yo tengo por claro y cierto
 Ques este aquel que anunciaron
 Vuestros sabios y acihreros,
 Este es sin duda por quien
 El Rey Namerud sangriento²
 Ha degollado los niños
 Pensando vengar sus sueños.”
 Quando Ezar oyó la nueva
 Sobresaltado y acedo,
 Marchó á la cueva dó estaba
 El mancebo justo y bueno,
 Y al punto que fué llegado
 Luego que se conocieron
 Le comenzó el tierno joven
 Á amonestarle lo mesmo,
 Que su descreida madre
 Habia dicho y propuesto.
 El ciego ydolatra usandó
 El desatinado termino
 Que usó su falsa consorte,
 Y con mas ayrado gesto,
 Hiriendo su linda cara
 Con golpes crudos y fieros,³
 Lanzando piedras sobré,
 Y como rayos de fuego,
 Volvió al Rey apellidando
 Qual tigre ó dragon hambriento;
 Y ante el Rey arrodillado,
 Dice, al⁴ Rey alto y supremo:
 “Has de saber que mi hijo
 Es sin duda aquel mancebo
 Que buscas, y con gran prisa⁵
 En una cueva lo dexé:
 El qual á menos de ti
 Hace otro adoramiento;
 Ybráhim tiene por nombre,
 Y por tanto importa luego
 Ynvies á que lo prendan
 O’ lo maten, por que creo
 Que si vive ha de turbar
 Toda tu luz⁶ y sosiego.”
 Luego á la ora mandó

Namerud á sus guerreros,
 Con muchos de su compañía
 Que lo traigan muerto ó preso.
 Aquí mostró el gran Señor
 Un hazañoso misterio,
 Que pusó entre ellos y Bráhim
 Tres muros altos y recios,
 Encolosados y fuertes:
 El primero era de fuego.
 Chebril decendió á la ora,
 Dandole terrible esfuerzo,
 Dixó: “Ybrahim no has miedo
 Con tan fuerte compañero.”
 Cometieron los sayones
 Á las murallas, y el fuego
 Que sale del primer muro,
 Se dexó caer sobre ellos,
 Y ansi fueron abrasados
 Todos los que alli vinieron,
 Quedando alegre y contento
 Y sin ningun necimiento
 Destos trabajosos trances
 Necesidades y apretos.
 Pasó muchos hasta entonces
 Que á instancia y requerimiento
 De su padre descreido,
 Que fué su mayor adverso.
 Dió el Señor lugar que fuese
 Por el Rey Namerud preso
 Para enseñar á las gentes
 Mayores encerramientos,
 Quel Señor en este punto⁷
 Encerró grandes misterios;
 Y la mayor inchazon
 Que tuvó para prendello,
 Fué aquella hazaña astuciosa
 Que hizó este grande siervo.
 Un dia de grande pasqua,
 En el qual todo aquel pueblo
 Adoraba á Namerud
 Qual si fuera dios; y á esto
 Le quisó hacer yr su padre
 Para traerlo á su gremio,
 De lo qual se escusó⁸
 Finjiendo que estaba enfermo,
 Y en despidiendo á su padre,
 Entró en el grande aposento,

¹ Le, P.² Sediento, P.³ Que buscabas con tal prisa, P.⁴ De lo qual él se escusó, P.⁵ Recios, P.⁶ Paz, P.⁷ Variante, O1⁸ Justo, P.

Dó estaban todos los ydolos
 Que su padre tenia hechos :
 Y entre ellos el gran Teraq,¹
 Que era el que adoraban ellos ;
 Y tomando una segur
 Hiriendo á diestro y siniestro,
 En aquellos sucios vultos,
 Las piernas brazos y cuerpos,
 Todos los hizo pedazos ;
 Y ad aquel que estaba enmedio,
 Que era él que tenían² por dios,
 El Rey destinado y tuerto,³
 Muy dorado y muy precioso
 Con grandes joyas y arreos,
 Le sacó entrambos los ojos,
 Rompiendole todo el rostro ;
 Y le puso la destreal
 Encima de su hombro diestro.
 Y quando el maldito Rey
 Con todos los de su pueblo
 Vinieron de su heregia,
 Todos juntos acudieron
 Azachedar ante el Rey⁴
 Ques este que ymos diciendo :
 Y viendo aquel grande estrago
 De los ydolos deshechos,
 Y él que por dios adoraban
 Lastimado y tan marchito,
 Echando una voz horrible
 Diciendo : “ tan guai de aquel,⁵
 Este daño en nuestros dioses
 Sobré l será mi tormento.”
 Y asi el Rey y sus compañas,
 Maginando quien ha hecho,
 Y asi memoraron todos
 Que Ybráhim habia hecho :
 Muchisimas ocasiones
 En publico y en secreto
 Habia dicho Abraham,
 Que los dioses de madera,
 Él les cortaria las caras,
 Pisandolos por el suelo.
 Luego la maldita gente
 Le acusaron, y traxeron
 Delante de Namerud,
 Y dixole ; por que has hecho
 Tal maldad ? y él respondió

Con rostro alegre y sereno :
 “ Tienes aqui el malhechor
 Y buscas otros agujeros ?
 Este que tiene la hacha
 En el hombro es él que ha hecho
 El daño en estos otros,
 Por que no le obedecieron ;
 Y estos como han sido muchos
 Le habian perdido el respeto,
 Hiriendole como veis
 Entrambos los ojos tuerto ;
 Mas pues quedó con vitoria,
 Si quereis satisfaceros,
 Hablalde, quel os dirá
 La causa de este secreto ;⁶
 Que aunque queda malherido
 Es grande y de fuerte pecho.”
 Dice el Rey : “ estos no hablan,
 Ni se apartan⁷ de su asiento,
 Ni tienen ningun sentido
 Para daño ni provecho.”
 Respondió entonces Bráhim :
 “ Pues ; como, torpes y ciegos,
 Adorais en esta estatua
 Pedazo de barro y leño ?
 Vosotros soys los perdidos,
 Siervos del perpetuo infierno,
 Sin razon y sin camino,
 Del axaitan compañeros ;
 Adorad al que os ha hecho
 De nada, y al que os sustenta
 Sin ningun merecimiento.”
 Quedaron tan indignados,
 Llenos de infernal veneno,
 Que todos juntos á una,
 Apellidando, diciendo :
 “ Muera el traidor que perturba
 Nuestra creencia y sosiego !”
 Y con grande alteracion
 Buscan el mas fuerte medio
 Por donde pudiesen dar
 El castigo mas horrendo.
 Unos dicen sea ahorcado
 Este publico hechizero !
 Otros muera apedreado
 Ques el castigo mas recio. }
 Otros dicen : que lo axenen }

¹ Teraq, P. ² Tenia, P. ³ Ciego, P. ⁴ Azachedar á Teraq, P.
⁵ Dixó : “ tan guay del que ha hecho, P. ⁶ Sucuso, P. ⁷ Mudan, P. ⁸ MS. P.

A' perdurable destierro.
 En medio esta confusion,
 Se puso grato y muy ledo
 El que para todo mal
 Da la traza y el consejo,
 Diciendo: "lo que os conviene
 Es que lo quemeis, y siendo
 Quemado, aventeis¹ sus polvos
 Que se los lleven los vientos,
 Y ansi viviran seguros
 El Rey y todo su Reyno."
 Este parecer les dió
 Aquel dragon carniceiro,²
 Y colera de axaitan:³
 Quadróles bien el consejo.
 Luego el Rey mando traer
 Leña, y tal prisa se dieron
 Que hicieron una montaña
 De sejos⁴ y fuertes leños:
 Nueve meses carrearon,
 Segun el ebraico testo;
 Y Bráhim puesto en la carcel,
 Cargado de duros hierros.
 Fué tanta la demasia
 De la leña que truxeron,⁵
 Y el fuego que se encendió
 Que hasta las nubes del cielo⁶
 Derretia su calor:
 Que casi llegaba al cielo.⁷
 Era su calor tan grande
 Que en torno de su⁸ ancho cerco,
 Una milla al derredor,
 Nadi se llegaba al fuego;
 Y para poner á Bráhim
 Sobre aquel fuego soberbio
 Estaban embelesados,⁹
 No sabiendo que remedio
 Tuviesen para arrojarle;
 Hasta que vino entre ellos
 En habito de hombre santo¹⁰
 Aquel que cayó del cielo,
 Y tal astucia les dió
 Este infernal carpintero,
 Que solo podria caber

En su endemoniado ingenio.
 En la boca de un trabuco
 Lo ponen en vivo cuero,
 Atado de pies y manos,
 Donde lo arrojan al fuego,
 Por donde las vivas llamas
 Que hubo de medio á medio. }¹¹
 Cojióle la ardiente pira;
 Mas él llamando y pidiendo
 Socorro al proveedor
 Del verdadero remedio:
 Luego decendió Chebril
 En apresurado vuelo,
 Sudando por defenderle
 De aquel trabajos¹² estrecho.
 Recibieronle las llamas
 Con tan templado sosiego,
 Que no solo no le queman,
 Mas los arboles del cielo
 Doblaron sus verdes ramas
 Con fruto sabroso y tierno;
 Y daban al buen Ybráhim
 Fragante y dulce sustento;
 Y asi estaba con Chebril
 En medio el ardiente fuego,
 Razonando de las cosas
 Del alchana y sus contentos.
 El Rey muy regocijado,
 Quando vino el dia tercero
 Que ardia con mas hervor
 Este artificial ynfierno,
 Salia por deleitarse
 A' ver cumplido su intento,
 Dando ya por acabado
 Aquel aciago hecho;¹³
 Y mirando vidó á Ybráhim
 Sentado con gran sosiego,
 Rodeado de las llamas
 Sin ningun temor ni miedo.¹⁴
 De lo qual quedó espantado,
 Basqueando como perro:
 Dice que ha de conquistar
 Y dar guerra al alto cielo,
 Por que le defiende á Bráhim.

¹ Aventad los, P.² Can cerbero, P.³ Y como era de axeitan, P.⁴ Secos, P.⁵ De la leña, y tan superfluo, MS., P.⁶ Aves del vuelo, P.⁷ Amenazando á los cielos, P.⁸ Del, P.⁹ Enbarazados, P.¹⁰ Sabio, P.¹¹ Dando al cañon cebo y fuego¹² Peligroso, P.

Por entre las vivas llamas

¹³ Codiciado, P.

Le arrojan en medio á medio. P.

¹⁴ Alegre contento y ledo, P.

[De su juicio y apremio].¹
 Intentó el perro inico,
 Y tuvo tan buen suceso
 Que un pequeño mosquito
 Le dió fin triste y acerbo;
 Y fué tal su mala antia,²
 Que para tener sosiego
 De su pesima dolencia,
 Habian de estarle hiriendo
 Con mazas en la cabeza,
 Sin parar solo un momento.
 Asi murió el infernal
 Con esta pena y tormento,
 Despues de seiscientos años
 Que vivió sobre este suelo.
 Acabado este traidor,
 Volvió á su padre perverso
 Ybrahim con grande amor,
 Acariciando³ y diciendo:
 “; O’ mi padre! por que adoras
 Simple, sin luz, torpe y ciego
 A quien no oye ni vé,
 Te daña y no hace provecho?
 ; O’ mi padre! por que sirves
 Al Ebliz, maldito y perro!
 Mira que seas⁴ persona
 Enemigo claro y ciego.
 ; O’ padre! ya me ha venido
 De parte del sacro cielo
 Saber lo que á ti no vino
 Para descanso y consuelo:
 Sigueme y te guiaré
 Al camino limpio y neto,
 Y rogaré á mi Señor
 Por el perdon de tus yerros.
 ; O’ padre! conocete,
 Mira que tengo por cierto
 Que te toque el aladeb⁵
 La pena y el escarmiento.”
 Pero su padre obstinado,
 Ciegos sus entendimientos,
 Y en entrambos sus oydos
 Puso candados de fuego.
 Y asi murió el descreido⁶

Sin ningun merecimiento,
 Habitando con su vida⁷
 Al perdurable tormento.
 Luego el buen mancebo puso
 Orden en su casamiento
 Con Sara, una prima suya,
 Moza hermosa y de alto precio,
 Que tambien eran sus padres
 Del ydolatrigo pueblo;
 Y como vió que su hija
 Seguía ya los preceptos
 De Ibrahím su sobrino,⁸
 Y que le amaba en extremo,
 Desnudóla de las joyas
 Que vestia y los⁹ arreos;
 Con una¹⁰ aljuba de lana
 Sin otro ningun arreo,
 Los echo¹¹ la puerta afuera
 Y asi en medio de un desierto
 Solo los dos se hallaron;
 Y para quel casamiento
 Se efectuase, no hallaron¹²
 Entremedio¹³ de terceros;
 Y tambien, por que Abraham
 No tenia ningun medio,
 Para firmarle asidaque¹⁴
 Por ser tan pobre mancebo,
 Y por que se efectuase
 El dichoso casamiento,¹⁵
 Que habia de ser en el mundo
 De tanta gloria y provecho,
 Decendió luego Chebril
 Con otros tres compañeros;
 Eran Micayl¹⁶ y Zarafil,
 Y Reduan,¹⁷ portero del cielo.
 Dixó Chebril: “yá¹⁸ Abraham,
 Dice el Señor verdadero
 Que asegures á tu esposa
 El asidaque¹⁹ y derecho
 Sobre su gran deleitaje:
 Quél sale fiador de aquello.
 Ya traigo aqui los testigos
 Y el algualy y yo con ellos;
 Cumplimos la obligacion

¹ Paris.² Enfermedad; malantia, P.³ Acariciado, P.⁴ Es á la, P.⁵ Castigo.⁶ Y asi murió descreido, P.⁷ Acuytando con su aroh, P.⁸ De Ibrahím su buen sobrino, P.⁹ Sus, P.¹⁰ Y con, P.¹¹ Le batió, P.¹² Hallaban, P.¹³ Intervencion, P.¹⁴ Dote.¹⁵ Concierto, P.¹⁶ Micheil, P.¹⁷ Ridguen, P.¹⁸ Ye, MS. P.; interjeccion Arabe, O’!¹⁹ Acidacal, P.

Que se debe al casamiento.”
 Asi fué casado Ibráhim
 Con grande gozo y contento,

Tomando asiento en Canaan
 Dexando el pueblo Caldeo.

SEGUNDO CANTO DE LA YSTORIA DE BRAHIM ALEI-
 SALEM COMIENZA DESDE SU NACIMIENTO Y LO QUE
 LE VINO CON EL REY NAMERUD.

En la tierra de Canaan,
 Provincia fertil y rica,
 El siervo de Dios Ybráhim
 A su contento vivia
 Con solo su muger Sara,
 Sin ningun hijo ni hija;
 Gozando de las mercedes
 Que su Señor les hacia,
 Quando baxó el fiel Chebril
 Una noche y le decia:
 “Ibráhim! tu Señor manda
 Que dexando esta provincia,
 Tú solo con tu muger
 Para Arabia hagas via,
 A un pueblo que está sitiado
 Al medio de medio dia;
 Porque alli quiere el Señor
 Asentar su cetro y silla
 Aparejado á Muhamad
 Y á su gran genealogia,
 Y edificar un gran templo
 Que es la mayor alfadila.¹
 En él será celebrada
 De quantas tiene ofrecidas
 En la tierra á los mortales
 Y en el cielo á los que vivan.
 El lugar se llama Maca,
 Villa por Alláh escogida,
 Por metropol y cabeza
 De su ley santa y divina.”
 Esto dixó, y se despide
 El angel con grande prisa.
 Despierta Bráhim á Sara
 Y con muy grande alegria
 Le cuenta la alegre nueva,
 Y como Dios le hacia
 Merced hecho á manos del²
 En obra tan santa y pia.

Gran contento recibió
 Sara, y en aquel mesmo dia
 Aparejan su viaje,
 Y de toda su familia
 Se despiden, y á la hora³
 Caminan á grande prisa.
 Andando por sus jornadas,
 Hubieron de hacer su via
 Por tierras del Rey Agar,
 Quen Egipto residia:
 Y pasando por el monte
 Salieronle las espías
 De este Rey, y los prendieron,
 Y á palacio los traian.
 Dixó Brahím á su esposa:
 “Si te preguntan que digas
 Quien eres ó quien soy yo,
 Diras ques⁴ hermana mia,
 No digas ques mi muger.”
 Mas Sara no lo entendia
 Lo que dixó su marido,
 Que se lo dixó por cifras,
 O se le olvido en el tiempo }
 Que mas menester le hacia. }
 Y ansi al punto que llegaron,
 Ante el Rey resplandecia
 La bella Sara, y su cara
 Privaba la luz del dia.
 Mandó el Rey los dividiesen
 Y á Bráhim luego traian
 Primero, y luego⁵ le dice:
 “Dó llevas esta alcheria⁶
 Es tu mujer por ventura?
 Dime ¿para dó caminas?”
 Dixó Bráhim: “Es mi hermana
 Que al Arabia mas vecina
 La llevo por ciertas cosas
 Que allá se nos ofrecian;

¹ Merito.

² Merced de echar mano del, Paris.

³ Arabia, Paris.

⁴ Es está aqui por eres.

⁵ MS. Paris.

⁶ El rey, Paris.

⁷ جارية doncella.

Mira Señor, que nos mandas,
 Que importa nuestra partida
 Abreviar, por que tenemos
 De caminar muchos dias.”
 Luego traxeron a Sara
 Para probar si decia
 Verdad lo que habia dicho
 Ybráhim, ó si mentia.
 Ella ignorante responde,
 Ques su muger muy querida.
 El Rey indignado desto
 Quiso cumplir su codicia,¹
 Dando fuerza al apetito;
 Por que de la bizarria
 De Sara estaba perdido;
 Y asi con infernal² ira
 Mandó imprisionar á Ybráhim
 En pago de su malicia.³
 Dixó, Señor, “yo no miento,⁴
 Ni nunca el Señor⁵ permita,
 Quen nuestro dim es mi hermana,
 Y en parentesco mi prima.
 Ninguna de estas razones
 Fueron del Rey admitidas,
 Mandó encarcelar á Bráhim,
 Y á Sara llevar hacia
 Á su camara Real
 Para cumplir su codicia.
 Asi fué llevada, y puesta
 Sobre aquella cama rica,
 Que mas que la clara luna
 Su cara resplandecia.
 Entre tanto el buen Ybráhim,
 Considerad que sentia,
 Viendo llevar á su esposa
 Que mas que á si la queria;
 Y aquellos rabiosos zelos
 Le daban tantaagonia,
 Que casi el alma arrancaba,
 Con mil sollozos vomita:
 Diciendo: “Rey de los cielos!
 Mira mi alma afijida
 Que mas que la amarga⁶ muerte
 Siente esta furia maldita:
 Libranos⁷ de esta congoxa,
 Señor, que tú es él que libras
 De los tristes corazones

Las congoxas y agonias.”
 En esto el lacivo Rey,
 Ciego y el alma rendida,
 Entró donde estaba Sara,
 Y ella con ansia crecida
 Rogaba al Señor la libre⁸
 De aquella furia⁹ laciva.
 Oyó Alláh estas peticiones,
 Y al tiempo que el Rey asia
 Della, sintió su persona
 Cortada, tullida y fria;
 Y aunque mas quisó esforzarse,
 Fué por demas su porfia,
 Que quanto mas se esforzaba
 Menos fuerza en si tenia.¹⁰
 De aqui conoció su yerro,
 Y por Bráhim envia
 Á la prision donde estaba,
 Embuelto¹¹ en pasiones vivas:
 Al qual le pidió perdon,
 Y con humildad pidia
 Que rogase á su Señor
 Por su salud y su vida.
 Y ansi por medio de Bráhim
 Volvió la salud cumplida
 Sobre el Rey, quedando Sara
 Libre, honrrada y sin mancilla,
 Y el Rey muy agradecido
 Les dice manden y pidan
 De su palacio y su Reyno
 Para su jornada y via,
 Qual si fuesen propios suyos
 Los reynos que¹² poseia.
 Ellos le besan las manos
 Por la merced ofrecida,
 Pidiendole la licencia
 Para abreviar su partida.
 En el ynter questuvieron
 Detenidos estos dias,
 Regalados y servidos
 Con gran gozo y alegria,
 Una hija de este Rey
 Que Hechára se decia,
 Hermosa, bella y gallarda,
 De edad lozana y crecida,
 Heredera unica y sola
 Del Reyno, casa y familia,

¹ Malicia, Paris. ² Crecida, P. ³ Mentira, P. ⁴ El dixo: Señor no miento, P.

⁶ Dios tal, P. ⁶ Dura, P. ⁷ Librame, P. ⁸ A Dios la librase, P.

⁹ Fuerza, P. ¹⁰ Sentia, P. ¹¹ Revuelto, P. ¹² Quel, P.

De la compañía de Sara
 Acariciada, y movida
 De aquel zelo, justo y santo
 Quen Bráhim conocia,
 Con nil amorosos ruegos
 A su padre el Rey se humilla,
 Diciendo: "padre y Señor,
 Suplico sea concedida
 Una merced que te pide
 Esta tu querida hija;
 Que me des licencia pido
 Para quen la compañía
 De Sara con Abrahám
 Vaia á la Arabia bendita,
 En custodia destes justos
 Que siguen de Dios la via,
 Que yo desisto del Reyno
 Y de su pompa y estima
 Por guardar¹ el Reyno eterno
 Ques perdurable su silla;
 Y pues esta mi demanda
 Es justa, sincera y limpia,
 Suplicote me socorras,²
 Como de ti mi alma fia,³
 A⁴ petición bien fundada."
 ¡ O' voluntad santa y limpia!
 ¡ O' pecho bien cimentado,
 Fé sincera, pura y fixa!⁵
 "[Donde jamas se vio intento
 En esta misera vida
 Por muy sincero que fuese
 Para dexar sus caricias?
 Grandes hazañas hicieron
 Los que en solitarias vidas
 Consumieron este mundo
 En oraciones contritas;
 Mas ya fué quando su edad
 Los yba llamando áprisa,
 Y el mundo ya los dexaba
 De su alegre compañía,
 De su mocedad impia;
 Llamados por sus transgresos
 Y sobresaltadas vidas,
 Vinieron á hacer parada
 En rábidas algaribas,⁶
 Los otros que libertaron

A' costa de sangre y vidas
 Sus patrias, qué mucho hicieron
 Si la muerte tan vezina
 Tenian dentro en sus pueblos,
 Donde á pura fuerza habian
 De morir ó libertarse;
 Y esto les daba osadia
 Para señalar sus hechos
 Y ganar la eterna vida.
 Como aquella gran matrona,
 Quando su ciudad rendida
 Estaba por los Asirios,
 Y ella al riesgo some
 Se puso en medio el tida,
 A' donde quitó la vida
 Al capitan Holoferno;
 Y ella libre y sin mancilla
 Libertó su amada patria;
 Y aunquesta hazaña fué digna
 De gloria y grande alabanza,
 Fué por fuerza acoseguida.
 Mas esta que voy tratando,
 Libre, hermosa, tierna y niña,
 Heredera de un gran Reyno,
 Siendo poderosa y rica,
 Cosa que acaricia y llama
 Al mas justo su codicia,
 Forzada de amor divino
 Dexa su padre y desista
 Del Reyno, patria y riqueza,
 Pompas, galas, bizarrías,
 Por seguir el justo zelo
 De una pobre compañía.]"
 ¡ Bien por cierto mereciste
 El nombre que te apellidan,
 O' serenísima Infanta!
 Pues mereciste ser digna,
 Ser la fuente y manantio
 De la luz esclarecida!
 Pues como Agar conocio
 La voluntad conocida,⁷
 Y que su justa demanda
 Tal respuesta merecia,
 No soló le dió licencia
 Mas en aquel mesmo dia
 Dexó su creencia falsa

¹ Ganar, MS. Paris.² Respondas, P.³ Como de ti se confia, P.⁴ O! P.⁵ Fita, P.⁶ Ermitas lejanas.⁷ Estas lineas faltan al MS. Paris.⁸ De su hija, P.

Y lalisalem¹ seguia ;
 Y con muy grandes riquezas
 Que les dió, los despidia ;
 Tomando á prisa el camino,
 Todos tres en compañía.
 Y quando Alláh fué servido
 Quel Arabia descubrian,
 Al Señor que los crió²
 Daban gracias infinitas ;
 Y en llegando á aquel puesto
 Donde parar se debian,
 Asentaron sus bagajes³
 Para hacer alli su via,⁴
 Aguardando de su Señor
 Orden nueva en que le sirvan,
 Dale la traza y consejo⁵
 De lo que fué su venida.⁶
 Pasados ya muchos años
 Quen Arabia residian
 Bráhim y Hechara juntos⁷
 En alegre y santa vida,
 Viendo Sara que aumentaba
 En años y tan de prisa
 Corre su cansado tiempo,
 Y que hijos no paria,
 A su marido Abráham
 Le pide ruego y suplica,
 Que pues ella no concibe
 Ni tal esperanza habia,
 Se case con la Princesa
 Hechara, quen compañía
 Vinó con ellos de Egipto,
 Y el Señor se serviria
 Darle justo sucesor
 De lo quella carecia.
 Tibio Bráhim del⁸ consejo
 Que Sara le proponia,
 Indeterminado estuvo⁹
 Sin saber lo que haria.
 Estando en esto confuso,
 Quando Chebril decendia,
 Y dixó que efectuase
 Lo que su muger decia ;
 Que su Señor dicretaba,
 Y mas que decendiria
 Sobre ellos la bendicion

En gracia tan estendida,
 Que ecederá á las estrellas }
 Su grande genealogia. }¹⁰
 Ibráhim hizó el mandado
 De su Señor, y aquel dia
 Efectuó el casamiento
 Quel angel dicho le habia.
 Luego se hizo preñada
 De aquella luz, que infuida
 Iba en la frente de Bráhim,
 A Muhamad prometida,
 Se pasó á la hermosa ynfanta,
 Y en ella resplandecia
 Su cara como la luna
 Clara, redonda y cumplida.
 Cumplidos los nueve meses,
 Parió un hijo y le ponian
 Por nombre Ysmael,¹¹ tan bello
 Como el luzero del dia.
 Sacó la insignia real
 De la luz esclarecida
 De nuestro padre primero
 A Muhamad prometida.¹²
 Muy contento quedó Bráhim
 Desta merced tan crecida,
 Loando al Señor del cielo
 Toda la noche y el dia ;
 Y como tanto en los hombres
 Se empoderó la malicia,
 Despues quel angel maldito
 Decendió de su manida,¹³
 Comprendiendo á todas partes
 Esta corrupta semilla ;
 Esta que tanto se apegá
 Adonde halla acogida ;
 Esta entre Hechara y Sara
 Deshizó la compañía,
 Y las hizó tan contrarias
 Quanto de principio amigas.
 Hubó disbarate entre ellas,
 Hubó discordia, hubó riñas,
 Y se inficionó el contento
 Que de principio tenian.
 No sé si Sara zelosa
 De la sobrada alegria
 Que la princesa gozaba

¹ الاسلام el Islam, el alisalem, P. ² Guió, P. ³ Su fardaje, P. ⁴ Subida, P.

⁵ Y dar la traza y principio.

⁶ De lo que a fue su venida, P.

⁷ Hechara y Sara, P.

⁸ Al, P.

⁹ Estaba, P.

¹⁰ MS. Paris.

¹¹ Yzmeyl, P.

¹² De aquel cristal descendida, P.

¹³ Morada ; Sic, Paris.

Con hijo de tanta estima,
 O' si la princesa ufana
 Quiso usar mayoria
 Por ser madre de tal hijo,
 Y de Bráhim tan querida.
 Todo debió de ser parte,
 Segun que parece hoy dia,
 Que de su primera leche
 Quedaron estas mancillas.
 Esto quedó á Rachel
 Con su propia hermania Lia,
 Que sus hijos fueron parte
 De sus zelosas ynvidias.
 Viendo esto el justo Bráhim,
 Determinó dividir las
 Por evitar sus¹ disgustos,
 Y el quitarse de mohina.
 Tomando á la princesa
 Y á su hijo en compañía,
 La arredró en las montañas
 Altas, asperas y umbrias,
 Y les llevó provision,
 Y él se volvió á su posada
 Lleno de mala enconia.²
 Hechaba y su amado hijo
 Que los montes solenizan,³
 Comiendo yerbas sabrosas⁴
 Y las raizes campiñas:
 Por que el Patriarca justo
 Se desuicó algunos dias
 De llevarles provision
 (Que facilmente se olvida
 Aquel que mas se desvela
 De lo que mas necesita),
 Vinieron á tanto extremo⁵
 De hambre, y á tanta estricia⁶
 Que ya el hijo no se mueve,
 Ni ansi⁷ la madre se⁸ anima.
 Al fin la triste princesa,
 Lastimada y dolorida,
 Por no ver morir de hambre }
 Al que mas que á si queria }
 Le dexó tras de una peña
 Y ella la montaña arriba
 Se fué, loando al Señor,
 Que á tal extremo venia;

Y quando le pareció
 Que la limitada vida
 De su delicado hijo
 Seria ya concluida,
 Volvió por ver si era muerto,
 Y halló que antes tenia¹⁰
 Un pozo¹¹ de agua muy clara
 Y provisiones muy ricas.
 Llamabanse aquellas sierras
 De Zanzan y son las¹² que hoy dia
 Aquel pozo en su jornada
 Los alhijantes¹³ visitan.
 Considerad el contento
 Que la princesa tendria,
 Hallando á su hijo vivo
 Y con celestial comida;
 Y mas que en el mesmo punto
 El fiel Chebril decendia,
 Dandole esfuerzo y contento
 Con grandes nuevas y albricias.
 Siendo ya Ismael criado,
 En edad bella y crecida,
 Muy contentisimo Bráhim,
 Que ya en quieta paz vivia,
 Quando descendió Chebril,
 Y el santo circulo afirma¹⁴
 De la fundacion del templo,
 Donde y como Alláh queria, }
 Fuese la fabrica hecha. }¹⁵
 Señalada en quatro esquinas,
 Medido el¹⁶ largo por pies
 Ciento y quareinta tenia,
 Y en anchos solo quareinta;
 Y para que sin fatiga
 Esta obra se hiciese,
 Enseña á Bráhim que diga
 Quatro palabras con quien
 La santa obra se hacia.
 Ismael le acompañaba
 Á quanto alli se ofrecia,
 Como aquel quen justa ciencia¹⁷
 La tal obra pretendia.
 Dixó el angel á Bráham:
 "Esta casa se edifica
 En insignia de otras siete,
 Quen los cielos están fixas,¹⁸

¹ Mas, P. ² Melancolia, P. ³ Solicitan, P. ⁴ A' vezes, P. ⁵ Estrecho, P.
⁶ Apuro, P. ⁷ Ya, P. ⁸ Le, P. ⁹ MS. Paris. ¹⁰ Ante si tenia, P.
¹¹ Poco, P. ¹² Es el, P. ¹³ Alhichantes, P. pelegrimos. ¹⁴ Asigna, P.
¹⁵ Faltan al MS. Paris. ¹⁶ Al, P. ¹⁷ Herencia, P. ¹⁸ Se habitan, P.

Y has de saber questa sola
Excederá en alfadila
A las siete que en¹ los cielos,
Por que será establecida
Para el sello del perdon,
Y compañía mas lucida
Quel Señor crió en el mundo
Para su ley escogida.
Esta será visitada
De las naciones del mundo,
Y en los cielos mas temida.²
Con esto se fué Chebril;

Y luego Bráhim principia
Su obra bendita y santa
Con su hijo en compañía:
Y quando ya los cimientos
Sobre la tierra divisa,
Quando el circulo santo
Fuertes paredes ceñian,
Contento Ibráhim de ver
Como en efecto podia,
Dixó ad Alláh su Señor,
Esta breve rogativa.

PETICION.³

Recibe, Señor piadoso,
Esta obra á ti ofrecida,
Mandada por tu juicio
Y á tu honor y gracia asida,
Haznos, Señor, muzlimes
Por tu encumbrada⁴ alfadila,
Y que de nuestras naciones
Haya alumas⁵ muzlimas.
Enseñanos nuestra obra
Ante tu esencia divina,
Obren⁶ quantas criaturas
Ante tu juicio asistan;
Y pon en nuestras personas
La repenencia cumplida,
Que tu recibes y alaxas⁷
Las apenitencias limpias.
Deciende, Señor, sobrellos:
Digo a los nuestros ymvia
Mensageros dellos mismos
De su descendencia misma,
Que les enseñes misterios
De tus Zalaes⁸ santisimas,

Y tu alquiteb les enseña
Y tahares sus nias,⁹
Para que en tu amparo grande¹⁰
Vivan en eterna vida;
Queres honrrado en tus hechos,
Y tu ciencia¹¹ es infinita.
Señor, tu seguro pido
Que pongas en esta villa
Que sea de sus contrarios
Reservada y defendida,
Y dé arrisque¹² á los mortales
De las frutas y semillas;
Digo á los que te conocen
Y mantengan tu Justicia:¹³
Y á los que con tú descreen
Y tus preceptos no sigan
Habita¹⁴ Señor con ellos
A la pena dolorida.”

Pues quando fué ya acabada
Esta fabrica bendita,
Sus paredes y cubiertas
Como el sol resplandecia.

TERCERA ISTORIA DE BRAHIM ALEHISALEM.

Como el Señor es tan justo
Quen su juicio no coje¹⁵
Mal que dexe sin castigo
Ni bien que no galardone:
En pago de los servicios

A que Bráhim se dispone,
Lo especialó por su amigo
Que fué el mejor de los dones.
Que hasta entonces en el mundo
Pudo gozar ningun hombre:

¹ De, P. ² Tenida, P. Variante, estimada. ³ Oracion, P. ⁴ Ensalzada.

⁵ Sectas. ⁶ Sobre, P. ⁷ Acoges, P. ⁸ Aleas, P. ⁹ *نية* intencion.

¹⁰ Y gracia, P. ¹¹ Sciencia, P. ¹² Pone arrizque en sus morantes, P.

¹³ Y teman tu gran justicia, P. ¹⁴ Acuyta, P. ¹⁵ Acoge, P.

Y para darle esta nueva
Manda el Señor de Señores
A Malac al-mauti baxe
Y la embaxada denote.
¡ O misteriosos secretos !
¿ A quien habrá que no asombre
Estas enigmas obscuras
Quel Señor nos antipone ;
Ver que en todos los apretos
Estrechos y pugnaciones,
Calamidades y afrentas,
Hambres, fuegos y prisiones,
Fué su ordinario consuelo,
Su defensa y muro doble
El almalaque Chebril,
Gran consuelo de aflicciones ;
Y agora para alegrarle
Con las albricias mexores
Envia á Malac al-mauti,
Que atierra solo su nombre ;
Por que con un gran contento
Un gran temor se abandone,
Y lo amargo con lo dulce
Mezcle su sabor disforme.
Como son frutas del mundo
No hay otoño que sazone
Sus desaboridos gustos
Ni sus acedos sabores ;
Ni jamas hubo contento
Entero que no lo borre
El acibar de su hez,
Ni placeres que se colmen.
Así le vino á Bráhim
Que aunque fué de los mayores
La nueva de los que fueron
Deballados hasta entonces,
El nombre del mensajero
Es tan grande y tan noble¹
Que solo su nombre causa
El mayor de los temores :
Y por que no cause espanto
Le manda el Señor que tome
La mejor de las figuras,
Y que su persona adorne
De tal manera que á Bráhim
A mil contentos provoque.
Baxó el fuerte Azarayel,

Y así se adorna y compone,
Que no vidó almalaque
En todas las tronaciones
Tan gallardo y tan hermoso,
(Tan colmado de favores),²
Su rostro alindado y bello
Como rosa entre las flores ;
Su vestidura preciosa
Con muchos lazos y flores ;³
Su lengua dulce amorosa,
Sus ojos como dos soles ;
Su habla amorosa y grata,
Sus palabras y razones
Compuestas, y azucaradas
Con almizcadas olores ;
Humilde, afable y gracioso,
Dando de sí⁴ resplandores,
Quel cielo dexó admirado
Con todos sus moradores.
Entró por casa de Ibráhim,
Que sobre todos los hombres
Era zeloso, y estaba
Descuidado, y luego dióle
La nueva del nuevo huesped
Sus muy fragantes olores.
Volvióse al olor, y viendo
Dentro en su casa aquel hombre,
Le pregunta algo alterado
; “ Amigo ! dime por donde
Entraste⁵ dentro en mi casa
Sin mi licencia y mi orden ? ”
“ El ques Señor de la casa,
Malac al-mauti responde,
Me ha mandado que dentrase
No te alteres, ni te asombres.”
“ Mi casa tiene otro dueño,
Respondió Bráhim, que more
En ella menos⁶ de mí.”
Dixó el angel : “ no lo ignores
Que aquel que á ti te crió⁷
Es él que manda y dispone
Lo hecho, y lo por hacer :
Su poder á todo acorre.”
“ Pues dime, eres mensajero
Del Señor, honrrado y noble ?
Ruegote, digas quien eres,
No me suspendas tu nombre ;

¹ Enorme, P. el angel de la muerte.⁴ Tales, P.⁵ Dentrase, P.² MS. Paris.⁶ Ademas de mí.³ Bordes, P.⁷ Te halecó, P.

En solo verte me alteras,
 En hablarte me corrompes;
 En mirarte me atribulas,
 Y causas que me acongoxes
 Mi color calido y frio,¹
 Mis venas cortas y rompes;
 Mis lados me titubean,
 Mis junturas descompones;
 Mi alterado corazon
 En su aposento no coje,
 Ques su morada pequena,
 No halla donde repose.”
 El celestial mensagero
 Que ya de Bráhim conoce
 Su grande desasosiego,
 Asi le dice y responde:
 “Yo soy quien mi nombre temen
 Quantos memoran mi nombre,
 Desde la mas baxa tierra
 Hasta las mas altas torres,”²
 Yo soy el que nadi esenta
 De mis amargas pasiones,
 A todos los hago iguales
 A los grandes y menores,
 Desde el labrador mas baxo³
 Al emperador mas noble
 Y dende el mas alto Rey
 A los mas baxos pastores.
 Yo soy la sola atalaya
 Que á mi vista no se asconde
 Criatura que alma tenga,
 Ni cosa que vida goze.
 El que las copiosas huestes
 Acaba, deshace y rompe,
 Y él que los cuerpos despoja
 De sus amados arohes.
 Yo pueblo los cementerios,⁴
 Hago quen las fuesas moren,
 Y despueblo las moradas
 De sus propios moradores;
 Ciudades, villas, castillos,
 Altas casas, fuertes torres,
 Yo las allano por tierra,
 Sus dueños y prevenciones;
 Yo las alchamas copiosas
 Pompas, brios y ambiciones,
 Las allano por el suelo,

Sin dolor de sus dolores.
 El que los hermosos rostros
 Cambio en malos colores,
 Y en calaveras⁵ resuelvo
 Las bellas dispusiciones;
 Yo las dulces compañías,
 Tratos y conversaciones
 Aparto, deshago y tuerzo⁶
 En llorosas aflicciones.
 El que los gustos aceda,
 Y él que aparta y descompone
 El amigo de su amigo,
 Sin ver si es rico ni pobre.
 No quiero treguas con nadi,
 Jamas escucho razones;
 De ninguno soy amigo,
 A todos trato de un orden;
 Azarayel me apellidan,
 Malac al-mauti es mi nombre;
 Quien nunca temió, y le temen
 Todas las generaciones.”

Causó en Bráhim tal pasmo
 Su habla, presencia y nombre,
 Que por espacio de una hora,
 Falto de aliento atordióle.⁷
 Vuelto de su parasismo,
 Cobrando aliento esforzóse
 Y dicele: “di que quieres
 Ruegote, tu habla acortes,”
 Malac al mauti amoroso
 Le esfuerza, anima y responde,
 Con voz humilde y alegre
 Estas siguientes razones:
 “Alláh el alto y sempiterno,
 Que hace, ordena, y dispone,
 Como quiere, y puede hacer⁸
 Sin que nadi se lo estorbe,
 Ha especialado un amigo
 En los hijos de los hombres:
 Hasta qui no hubó ninguno
 Que mereciese tal nombre,
 Y para alegrar tal siervo
 Con esta gracia, mandóme,
 Baxe á pedir las albricias
 Al que por amigo escoge.
 Mira Bráhim que ventaja,⁹
 Que mercedes y favores,

¹ Yerto, P. ² Orbes, P. ³ Triste, P. ⁴ معبر القبور ⁵ Cadaveres, P.

⁶ Trueco, P. ⁷ Aturdióse, P. ⁸ Sabe y puede, P. ⁹ Ventalla, P.

Merecieron de este siervo
 Sus servicios y loaciones?"
 Ibráhim que atento estaba
 A las sabrosas razones
 Del angel, con gran contento
 Dice, quando aquello oye;
 Guiame para que vea
 Ese varon justo y noble,
 Para quel suelo que pisa
 En nombre de Dios¹ le² adore,
 Para que lo³ comunique,
 De su habla y vista goze;
 Y siendole siervo fiel,
 Tal apellido me glorie,
 Para quel agua que beba
 Y para quel pan que come
 Sobre mis hombros le traiga
 Y de mis manos la tome;
 Y mereciendo tal gloria
 A su mandado me postre,
 Y el tiempo todo que viva
 Le sirva, venere y honrre."
 ; Humildad bien levantada,
 Como del señor conoces
 La gracia de que te adornas
 Y la gloria en que te pones.
 A quantos has levantado
 De las baxezas mayores
 Sobre los mas altos tronos,
 Y á los asientos mejores,
 Por ti fué Edriz levantado,
 Y diste silla de honores
 En la gloria, hasta que Izarafil,
 Su zumbante cuerno toque:
 Por ti el general diluvio
 De su rigor amainóse:
 Tú resolviste aquel agua
 Quen otro vaso no coje;
 Por ti fué librado Lot
 De aquellos fieros sayones,
 Y de la furia del cielo
 Quando el gran fuego abrasóle:
 Tú partiste el mar bermejo
 En doce calles, por donde
 Fué Muse libre, y hundiste
 Los soberbios Faraones;
 Tú sacaste del alchupe,⁴
 De esclavitud y prisiones,

A Yusuf, y tronizaste
 Sobre los Reyes su nombre:
 Tú volviste a Sulaimen
 Su Reyno, quando tan pobre
 Vinó á ser menospreciado
 De todos los otros pobres:
 Quien sino tú hizo amigos
 A Daniel con los leones,
 Quando en la caverna obscura
 El Asirio Rey lanzóle:
 A Ninive libertaste
 Del acelerado azote,
 Que ya sobre sus espaldas
 Casi se asentaba el golpe;
 Sacaste aquel gran profeta
 De aquel vientre tan disforme,
 Y para tanto bien nuestro
 A su pesar vomitóle:
 Tú desipaste la guerra
 De los angeles feroces
 Quando el soberbio Luzbel
 No quisó azaxdarse al hombre:
 Tú lo lanzaste del cielo
 A las cavernas mayores,
 Dó viviran para siempre
 En perdurables dolores.
 Bien confirmas tus hazañas
 Y tus triunfantes blasones
 En su ystoria de este justo
 Ques bien le sublime y honrre:
 Tú lo libraste del fuego
 De Namerud, y hoy lo pones
 En el mas subido trono
 Y en el numero mas noble.
 ; O celestial mensajero!
 Quien duda que sus razones
 Tan humildes de este suelo
 En pago de albricias tome.
 "Alegrate justo Brahim
 Dixó el angel, que este nombre
 A ti solo pertenece,
 Y á ti por amigo escoge
 El Señor que dá sus gracias
 A quien tambien las conoce,
 Y quiere que tu humildad
 Te levante y lustre, y dore,
 Da gracias a tu Hacedor
 Que tan subidos favores

¹ Allah, P.² Lo, P.³ Le, P.⁴ جوف جونا Concauidad.

Te hace entre los mortales,
 Qué es el honrrado y noble."
 Atonito y espantado,
 Sin saber como ó por donde
 Merecieron sus servicios
 Tan crecidos gualardones,
 Cayó Bráhim azaxdado,
 Dando gracias y loaciones,
 Al Señor que quisó darle
 Tan superlativos dones.
 Dos oras largas estuvó
 En su zaxda, y levantóse;
 Mas ya no halló al mensagero;
 Por donde vinó volvióse.
 Viendo que no parecia,
 Muy en extremo gozóse,
 Por que sin duda pensaba
 Que como con los arohes
 Azarayel procuraba,
 Y en ningunas ocasiones
 Sirviesen sus embajadas
 De contentos ni deportes

Jamas estuvó seguro,
 Imaginando que entonces
 Le quitaria su roh,
 Y aquesto atemorizóle
 Tanto que aunque su embaxada,
 Su habla, talle y razones,
 Ropas, apostura y gracia,
 Alegrase á qualquier hombre,
 Y aquella cara alindada
 Echase mil resplandores
 Ojos, labios, vista y talle,
 Y todas sus perfecciones,
 Todo incitaba á contento;
 Y en solo nombrar su nombre,
 Le inquieta, disgusta y turba,
 Hace que deshaga y borre
 Toda la gloria y contento
 Que le denuncia y propone;
 Mas quando ya satishecho,
 Fué de su ausencia gozoso,
 Muy mucho dando el Señor
 Infinitas bendiciones.

CANTO CUARTO DE LA YSTORIA DE BRAHIM ALEHIZALEM.

De las pasadas albricias
 Y del contento pasado
 Que le dió Malac al-mauti
 Como atras quedó contado,
 Quedo tan agradecido
 Y al Señor tan humillado
 Ibráhim el nuevo amigo,
 Que no tiene hora ni espacio
 Que no se ocupe en servir
 Al Señor que lo ha criado;
 Y ayunando todos días
 Y las noches trasnochando,
 Continuo azala haciendo,
 Sin un hora de descanso.
 Estando pues una noche
 Sobre su cama acostado,
 Con Hechara, la piadosa,
 Y Ismael, su hijo amado,
 Descansando su persona
 De aquel continuo trabajo,
 Quandá el mas sabroso sueño
 Le daba mayor regalo,
 Oyó una voz que le llama

Con tono amoroso y blando
 "Ibráhim, siervo perfeto,
 Escucha esto que te hablo,
 Despide el sabroso sueño,
 Dexa el gustoso decaño,
 Y acercate a mi alcorben¹
 En mi nombre eterno y santo,
 Que lo reciba de ti
 Y paga en lo adelantado
 De tu nombre sin segundo,
 Y en el dia del espanto
 Te daré premio por ello,
 Y quedará celebrado
 Tu nombre en los venideros,
 Y en los presentes dechado."
 Despertóse el justo Bráhim
 Amedrecido, y pensando
 Que era de parte de Ibliz
 Aquel sueño revelado;
 Y luego en amaneciendo
 Para cumplir lo soñado
 Degolló un grueso camello,
 Y siendo despedazado

¹ القربان sacrificio.

Repartió toda su carne
 A los pobres y acuitados,
 Diciendo "¡ó mi Señor!
 Si acaso te ha sido grato,
 Mi alcorbem, damelo á ver;
 Si no lo he acertado,
 Avisame como cumpla
 Tu santísimo mandado."
 Pues en la segunda noche
 Estando muy reposado
 Durmiendo, oyó que decia
 La voz: "oye, siervo amado,
 Allegate á mi alcorben,
 En mi nombre soberano,
 Y lo pondré á cuenta tuya
 En lo mas adelantado
 De todas las criaturas
 Y te será especialado
 Gualardon muy singular
 Con el qual seras premiado."
 Ibráhim se despertó
 Y quando fué el día claro
 Degolló una vaca y dióla
 A los mas necesitados,
 Y dixó: "Rey de los cielos,
 Si acaso este mi holocausto
 Has recibido de mi,
 Seame por ti revelado
 En la noche venidera
 Por dó yo quede saciado
 De mi ofrecido servicio,
 Y para lo que yo falto
 Lo enmiende sin faltar punto
 A lo que estoy obligado."
 Esto dixó, y quando vinó
 La noche tercera, y quando
 Mas sosegado dormia
 Lo mismo le está llamando.
 El se despertó al momento,
 Y habiendose levantado,
 Degolló un grueso carnero
 Y por el orden contado,
 Lo repartió á los mezquinos,
 Diciendo: "Rey soberano,
 Avisame como acierte
 Este alcorben encerrado."
 Pues quando la quarta noche,
 Llegó al punto relatado,
 Volvió la voz y le dixó:
 "Ibráhim, haz holocausto

En mi nombre, y te daré
 Un perdurable descanso."
 Ibráhim que ya despierto
 Estaba, y sobresaltado
 De los pasados avisos,
 Viendo que no habia acertado
 A lo quel Señor le pide
 En los servicios pasados;
 Dixó: "Señor poderoso,
 Sabes que he sacrificado
 Camellos, vacas, carneros,
 En tu nombre, y yo no hallo
 El camino por dó acierte
 El soñuelo deste blanco:
 Aclaramelo, Señor,
 Piadoso, honrrado, y sabio,
 Quen mi no hay saber ques esto
 Mas del saber que me has dado."
 Retronó la voz de Alláh:
 "Lo que pido en holocausto
 Ibráhim no son camellos,
 Como tu has sacrificado,
 Mas sobre tu amado hijo
 Ese que tú has engendrado,
 Ese que mas que á ti quieres,
 Esé que duerme á tu lado
 Ese pido en sacrificio,
 Con ese quedo pagado
 De tus perfetos servicios
 Y corazon limpio y casto."
 ¡ O' desaboridos gustos!
 ¡ O' gustos desconcertados!
 ¡ O' Señor de los secretos!
 ¡ O' Rey poderoso y alto!
 A tus secretos juicios
 Quien hay quien le llegue al cabo!
 Desta manera regalas
 Un varon tan señalado,
 Quentre las gentes escoges
 Por amigo especializado:
 Ayer le denunció el angel
 Un gozo tan soberano,
 Y le diste un hijo solo
 Despues de viejo cansado
 Por regalo á su vejez,
 Cosa muy de amigo caro;
 Y al tiempo que mas contento
 Vive, quieto y sosegado,
 Y de tus grandes mercedes
 Satisfecho y muy pagado,

Y quando su amado hijo
 Le daba mayor regalo,
 Quando en la edad mas florida
 Estaba tierno y lozano,
 Le mandas que lo deguelle
 Luego con sus propias manos.
 ¡ O' cosa jamas oida!
 Quen los juicios humanos
 Juzgaran ser deste hecho
 Mas que de amigo, contrario;
 Y que las obras de Bráhim
 Es cierto que se trocaron
 En descuidados servicios
 De su Señor olvidado.
 ¡ O' trascendencias humanas,
 Juicios torpes y baxos,
 Consideraciones tristes
 Que no os levantaís mas alto!
 Quan lexos sois del compas,
 Como os apartais del blanco
 Dó tira el Piadoso Rey
 Con su amor, gracia y amparo!
 Consideren los mortales
 Que no puede haber descanso
 Perdurable, aunque sea
 Granjeado con trabajos.
 ¡ O' piadoso y gran Señor,
 Si acaso dan desos lazos¹
 Nuestros baxos pensamientos,
 Mira que somos criados
 De materia dó se encierran
 Quatro grandes adversarios;
 Y no es mucho que desbarre
 Nuestro fragil ser liviano,
 En tan ocultos misterios,
 Como al presente voy contando.
 Pues quando ya el buen Bráhim
 Vió patente el desengaño
 De lo que las quatro noches
 Habia sido revelado;
 Imagine un buen sentido,
 Un pecho sincero y blando,
 En un tan hirviendo amor
 Un tan preciso mandado.
 No pudiendo reposar,
 Maginando y sollozando,
 Deshecho en lagrimas vivas
 Tomó á su hijo en sus brazos:

En la frente lo besaba,
 Entre los ojos y labios,
 Y con lagrimas ardientes
 Toda su cara bañando,
 No le dexaba dormir,
 Siempre lo tenia apretado
 Á sus pechos, quel amor
 No le daba mas espacio,
 Aunque lo disimulaba;
 Por que tenia á su lado
 Á Hechara la piadosa
 Madre dél que está besando;
 Por no darle con tal nueva,
 Tan grande pena y quebranto.
 No pudo ser tan secreto
 Que no lo sintiese, y quando
 Vió tan grande sentimiento
 Y un amor tan demasiado,
 Dixó á Bráhim: "ques esto
 Que tan desasosegado
 Te siento toda esta noche,
 Que no duermes sollozando,
 Y á Ismael, mi caro hijo
 Lo tienes tan fatigado
 Que no lo dexas dormir,
 Ques la causa deste caso?"
 "No es otra cosa, responde
 Ibráhim disimulado,
 Si no que remueve y crece
 Este amor tan levantado
 Cada momento en mi hijo:
 No puedo disimularlo.
 Pues quando amanezca el dia,
 Advierte esto que te encargo,
 Adrezarás á mi hijo
 Con adrezos muy preciados:
 Ropas limpias y olorosas,
 Nuevas y de paño blanco,
 Y lavarle-has la cabeza
 Con olores almizcados:
 Yo lo llevaré conmigo
 Donde haga el holocausto."
 Esto dixó el buen Bráhim,
 Dando fin á lo hablado:
 Con un profundo suspiro;
 Casi el corazon arrancado,
 Y como su gran condelma
 Le desasosiega tanto,

¹ Dan en esos lazos, P.

Qual la madre que le quitan
 El hijo de su regazo,
 Quel mundo es lugar pequeño
 Para su pecho inflamado.
 Asi deste modo estaba
 Este justo agonizando,
 Sobre su cama no coje,
 Como es lugar de regalo;
 Y asi se levanta y luego
 Sobre la tierra azaxdado,
 Dixó estas breves razones
 A su Señor invocando:
 ¡ O Señor, tú que criaste
 Con tu poderosa mano
 Mi corazon de esta carne
 Que repugna tu mandato,
 Suplico á tu alta bondad
 Permitas sean compasados
 Todos mis cinco sentidos,
 Sin que haya contrario bando;
 Que hagan un bulto todos
 A ti solo encaminado,
 Y tu gran misericordia
 Decrete en un ser tan santo
 Que mi flaqueza convenga
 A tu soberano aplasmo.”
 Mientras Bráhim andaba
 Con su Señor razonando,
 La Real princesa andaba
 Cumpliendo lo encomendado:
 Despertó al mancebo tierno
 Con muchos besos y abrazos,
 Y le lavó la cabeza
 Como le fué encomendado
 Con olorisimas aguas

Convinientes a tal caso,
 Alcanfor y mespolera
 Echó en ella, quera usado
 Aquel tiempo estos especies
 En los oleos sagrados;
 Y como el buen hijo viese
 Aquel tan nuevo aparato,
 Le dixó “¡ ó amada madre
 Ques esto que me has lavado
 Mi cabeza con las aguas
 Que lavan á los finados !”
 Respondió la gran Princesa:
 “ Hijo, asi me lo ha mandado
 Tu padre, y pues él lo manda
 Es justo lo obedezcamos.”
 Quando Ismael fué vestido
 Con los adrezos nombrados,
 Del sol quitaba la lumbre
 Su rostro glorificado.
 Entre tanto tomó Bráhim
 Un puñal disimulado,
 Quen un arca lo tenia
 Agudo y muy amolado,
 Y pusoselo en la cinta
 En su siniestro costado.
 Dixó Hechara: “ ya Bráhim,
 Toma provision y quando
 Mi hijo tuviere hambre,
 Darle has coma un bocado,
 Y darle has de beber
 Quando lo veas desecado;
 Y quando el dolor le aquexe
 Con este cendal preciado,
 Le cubriras la cabeza
 Y el Señor sea en vuestro amparo.”

CANTO QUINTO DE LA YSTORIA TERCERA DE BRAHIM ALEHISALEM.

Con el debido aparato
 Que á su jornada convino,
 Al Señor encomendado,
 Y habiendose despedido
 De Hechara la piadosa,
 Como atras habemos dicho;
 Con su hijo de la mano,
 Floreciente, hermoso y lindo,
 Camina el justo Bráhim
 A cumplir su sacrificio.
 Lastimado va el buen viejo,

Considerando en su hijo
 Los bellos miembros tan tiernos,
 En el tiempo mas florido,
 Su cara resplandeciente
 Con la luz del escogido;
 Y por que en su propias manos
 Habia de ser homicido,
 Y por que no le quedaba
 Otro ningun hijo vivo.
 Estas consideraciones
 Lo llevan tan aflijido,

Quel corazon se le arranca
 Con mil profundos sospiros,
 Y para questas congoxas
 No le apreten tan contino,
 Y aquella pella de acibar
 Mezcla con algun alivio
 Quiso el Señor enseñarle
 Un misterio en su camino;
 Y quando mas descuidado
 De semejante prodigio,
 Abrenle las siete tierras
 Sus centros mas escondidos,
 Por do pudo ver Ibráhim
 Los mas profundos abismos
 Sobre las cuestras de un pez,
 Y aquel asentado y fixo
 Sobre las cuestras de un toro.
 Alargó la vista y vidó
 El toro sobre los ayres,
 Y todo lo sobre dicho
 Sobre una laguna de agua,
 Cosa que aboba el sentido.
 De aqui consideró Bráhim
 El supremo poderio,
 Y como no hay á sus hechos
 Rastro, camino ni tino;
 Quedando de toda duda
 Satishecho y destoreido,
 Firme, seguro y costante
 En su holocausto emprendido.
 Andando de esta manera
 Como láxaitan maldito
 Siempre há sido declarado
 Al hombre por enemigo,
 Y su intento es deshacer
 Lo que aplace al Rey divino;
 Para estorbar este hecho
 Con sus embustes malinos,
 Se le presentó en figura
 De un viejo cano y le dixo:
 "A donde llevas Ibráhim
 A degollar á tu hijo?
 Mira quieres engañado
 Del Ibliz y su artificio,
 Y no es mandado de Dios
 Lo que en tus sueños has visto."
 Ibráhim que conoció
 La razon del perro inico:
 "A parte de mí, le dice,

Apedreado enemigo,
 Que no serás poderoso
 Para estorbar mi designio."
 Con esto se fué el traidor
 Menospreciado y corrido,
 Como vió que fué envacio }
 Su traza falsa y traidora: }
 Y luego, sin partir mano,
 A Ismael se ha parecido,
 Diciendo como te lleva
 Tu padre con tal destino,
 A degollarte mancebo,
 Engañado y decebido?"
 Dixó Ismael: "no hubo padre
 Que degollase á su hijo,
 Sin derecho de justicia:
 No lleva razon tu dicho."
 Replicó el Ebliz; ó mancebo!
 Dice tu padre que ha sido
 Quatro noches avisado,
 Para lo que en sacrificio
 Te deguelle; ó triste joven!
 Solo en verte me lastimo."
 Respondióle el buen mancebo:
 "Pues si el Señor se lo ha dicho,
 Justo es que mi padre cumpla
 Precepto tan justo y digno;
 Y pues con mí se contenta
 Yo lo apruevo y lo confirmo."
 Apartóse el axaitan,
 Como vió que fué en vacio.
 Su traza falsa y traidora.
 Ismael con gran sentido
 Lloraba por las razones
 Quel falso viejo le dixó,
 Y mirando á él su buen padre
 Le pregunta; que has tenido
 Que lloras, dime que tienes,
 Consuelo de mis sospiros?
 Dice Ismael; "ó mi padre
 Aquel viejo me ha advertido
 Que me llevas á matar
 Y aquesto me ha entristecido."
 "Enxuga tus tristes ojos,
 Hijo que cierto ha mentido
 El falso viejo: no llores,
 Yo soy tu guarda y tu abrigo."
 Consolóse el buen Ismael;
 Luego el Ebliz sobrevinó,

¹ Variante.

Vuelto en figura de un ave
Y con las uñas y el pico
Esbolutrando¹ sus plumas
Con semblante entristecido,
Diciendo: "ó triste mancebo!
A tal desdicha traído
Que has de morir degollado
Por el padre que te hizo!"
¡O'ave! dixo Ismael
Por ventura nunca has visto
Padre que á su hijo mate
Sin merecer el castigo."
Replicó el ave maldita:
"Sabe que tu padre ha dicho
Que se lo mandó el Señor."
"Pues si eso es así, yo digo
Que soy muy contento dello,
Y por merced lo recibo."
Y vuelto á su amado padre,
Le dice: "ya habrás oído
Lo que nos propuso el viejo
Y esta ave dice lo mismo."
"Sabe, hijo, que en las aves
Hay gran secreto escondido,
Que hay falsas como en las gentes
Que ya Dios así lo quisó."
El enemigo de Alláh
Quen los pasados enristros
Cayó por tierra su astucia,
Su fuerza y poder rendido,
En lo mas alto del monte
La quarta vez ha emprendido
A tender sus falsos lazos,
Pensando acertar el tiro;
Y á modo de eco decia
Puesto en el monte escondido:
¡O' triste de tí mancebo!
¡O' joven tierno y mezquino!
Como seras degollado
Hoy en este punto mismo,
Y derramaras tu sangre
En este monte do has sido
Traído á tu sepultura,
Do quedarás ascondido,
Y no verás á tu madre
Hata el dia del juicio:"
Izmael muy lastimado,
Viendose ya acoseguido
Y casi escandalizado

De aquellos falsos avisos,
Dixó á su padre llorando:
¡O' mi buen padre! si ha sido
Falso lo que dixo el viejo,
El ave no habrá mentido
Y si es quel ave mintió
En las razones que dixó,
Como mentirán los montes
Que son constantes y fixos?"
En esto ya iban llegando
Al cabo de su camino,
Sobre la cumbre del monte
Y como arriba se vido,
Casi vomitando el alma
A vuelta de mil sospiros,
El muy lastimado padre
Así responde á su hijo:
"Has de saber, hijo amado,
Que quatro noches me ha sido
En mi sueño revelado
Un llamador que me dixo:
Que Alláh el alto y poderoso
Quiere, manda y es servido,
Quen su alcorben te deguelle
Y quel dia del juicio
Adelantará este hecho
Sobre los que son y han sido.
Mira tú, que te parece
Que haga en este partido,
De manera que no falte
A lo que me está pedido."
Quando el hermoso mancebo
Que tuvó atento el oído,
Vió patente el desengaño
Del cuidado con que vinó,
Apretósele el temor
De la muerte, que aunque quiso
Esforzar su edad tan tierna,
Al fin es muchacho y niño.
Mirando á su viejo padre,
Le dice: "padre querido,
Por que no me lo advertias
Y hubierame despidido
De mi madre, la piadosa,
Y della hubiera recibido
La postrera bendicion
En este presente siglo?
Hubieramele humillado
Y mi cabeza metido

¹ Esbolotraba, P.

Debaxo sus pies, pidiendo
 Perdon, si le habia ofendido ;
 Alcanzara su Salem,
 Antes de haberme partido
 Mi alma deste mi cuerpo,
 Y á mi seria grande alivio.”
 “Nunca te osé decir nada,
 Temiendo lo hubieras dicho
 A tu madre, que sin duda
 Luego me lo hubiera impedido
 La venida, por do hubiera
 Faltado yo en mi servicio.”
 “Cumple, buen padre, el mandado
 Del Señor engrandecido,”
 Dixó Ismael, “obedece
 Ese precepto divino,
 Que yo contento y pagado
 Obedezco el sacrificio :
 Y pues al piadoso Señor
 Con esta miseria sirvo,
 Allegate, padre amado,
 Ante mi, si eres servido,
 Daré paz entre tus ojos ;
 Y pues que ya me despido
 De su vista, serán ellos
 Los verdaderos testigos,
 Como, paciente cordero
 El humilde cuello inclino
 Al sacrificio en tus manos,
 Al Señor en su servicio.
 Suplicote, amado padre,
 Pues no hay que dar desvio
 En este caso presente,
 Muestra tu valor altivo,
 Y tu corazon tan tierno
 Esté duro empedernido,
 Desnudado de piedad,
 Qual si no fuera tu hijo ;
 Que dó la piedad no cabe
 Al piadoso, es enemigo.
 Ata mis manos primero
 Con un nudo fuerte y fixo,
 Para que no se desmanden
 Quando apretes el cuchillo :
 Ten cuenta, padre piadoso,
 No se tintan tus vestidos
 Con las gotas de mi sangre,
 Por que te seran teñidos.
 Rezéntará¹ cada hora

Este paso entristecido,
 Y si mi madre los ve
 Advierte, padre querido,
 Que recibirá cada hora
 Crudo acibar de contino ;
 Consolarlas, padre amado,
 Y de mi parte suplico
 Que le des el asalem ;
 Y pues Alláh lo ha querido
 Darle un hijo con el qual
 Se contenta y es servido,
 Dale gracias quen su vientre
 Tal fruto se ha concebido.
 ¡ O mi buen padre ! yo temo
 Que al tiempo quel crudo hilo
 Atraviesé mi garganta,
 Con los amargos gemidos
 Se descompongan mis lados,
 Y te den algun fastidio ;
 Que al fin son de tierna carne,
 De fragil metal vestidos,
 Y con esto sea manchado
 Este mi hecho subido.
 ¡ O padre, no te acongoxes,
 Preta en el puño el cuchillo,
 Por que con mas brevedad
 Haga el oficio debido :
 No tengas piedad de mi,
 Y si acaso te lastimo,
 Cubre mi cara y mis ojos
 Con la toca que he traído :
 Y quando yo fuere muerto,
 Sepulta mi cuerpo frio,
 Y mira que me amortajes
 Con estos vestidos mismos,
 Y esta aljuba que me pusó.
 Mi madre, quando partimos ;
 Se la vuelve ante sus ojos
 Que le cause algun alivio,
 Y le sirva de consuelo
 En la ausencia de su hijo.”
 Viendo Bráhim la constancia,
 Y un ser tan sincero y limpio
 En aquella edad tan tierna,
 Y aquel animoso brio
 Con que su hijo se esfuerza
 Al presentado martirio ;
 Por una parte miraba
 Aquel agudo cuchillo,

¹ Renovará.

Con que há de cortar las venas
De aquel inocente niño,
Que sus entrañas le razgan
Aquellos cortantes hilos;
Por otra parte le anima
El conuerto¹ de su hijo
Con que á la muerte se apresta,
Sin dolerse de si mismo.
Y ansi, sin mas dilatarlo
Se apareja á lo ofrecido,
Sentó su fardaje en tierra,
Quera una ropa de rizo

Y un vellon de piel de gamo,
Dentro del qual de contino
Llevaba la provision,
Visitando sus exidos.
Y hizó sus reverencias
De zalá para principio;
Aguardó quel sol alumbre
Todo el mundo, ya esparcidos
Sus muy relumbrantes rayos,
Para que fuesen testigos
De su hecho, y ante Alláh
Estando azaxdado, dixó.

ORACION.

Alabente, gran Señor,
Tus angelicos espíritus,
Y tus altas yerarquias
Con sus entonados hymnos,
Que jamas dieron trabes
Tus hechos altos y limpios,
Ni se adelantó tu saña
Jamás á ningun nacido.
Mas segura es tu promesa
Que tus alarjes los fitos,
Nunca tardó tu socorro,
Siempre tu grande amorio
Nos acompaña, y tu gracia
Descolgada de contino
Está entre tus halecados
En mirar nuestros destinos.
No hay ningun por qué ni como
Á tus secretos juicios:
Todo es seguro y estable,
Todo inmovible y finito.
Señor, yo estoy en el punto
De lo que tú eres servido:
Suplico á tu gran bondad
Me alumbres, que sea cumplido
Mi fecho sin denostanza,
Y á tu voluntad propicio,
No por mis azaxdamientos,
Sino por el amorio
Que adelantaste á nosotros
Y aquel arrahmoso amplio
Que decendiste sobre Edam;
Y por el gran beneficio
Que asignaste sobre Noh

Por su hecho tan subido;
Y por los debidos deudos
Que nos has adeudecido;
Recibe, Rey piadoso,
Este alcorben dirijido
Á tu divina obidencia
Con la fe que va ofrecido.
Y tú sol y blanca luna
Con todos los serafines
De los alarjicos tronos
Serán desto los testigos;
Y á ti serafin hermoso,
Fiel Chebril, te ruego y pido
Que seas allohador
Deste hecho que acosigo
Á la divina obidencia
Del Señor engrandecido.

Acabada la oracion,
Tomó al mancebo escogido
Y echólo sobre la tierra
Y luego apresta el cuchillo
Sobre la tierna garganta
Con un valor muy crecido
Diciendo: bismi yllahi,
Alláh hu aqbar, ye adimu!
En este punto temblaron
Las tierras con sus abismos,
Y tremolaron los cielos,
Las mares, fuentes y rios;
Los almalaques lloraban
De gran lastima movidos,
Los delfines espantados
Allá en su centro escondidos,

¹ Concierto.

Las aves iban chirlando,
 Las fieras daban aullidos;
 Los axaitanes huían
 Afrentados y corridos,
 Viendo el grande sufrimiento,
 Y de que no habían podido
 Estorbar la obra perfecta
 Con sus falsos maleficios.
 Que haría el justo padre
 Quando á su hijo tendido
 Lo tuvó, y el puñal tenía
 Mas diligente que tibio?
 Quatro congoxas á una,
 Segun el divino escrito,
 Le apretan el corazon,
 Mas que cera enternecido;
 Que cada qual por su parte
 Era bastante á rendillo;
 Sino estuviera sobrel
 La mano dél que lo hizó.
 La una es ver que deguella
 A su unigenito hijo.
 Sin macula de porque
 Que lo hubiese merecido:
 La otra, el amargo trago
 De los acerados filos,
 De aquel sentir, quando pasen
 Aquel inocente niño:
 La tercera, que le aquexa
 El sentimiento excesivo
 De su madre, quando entienda
 La muerte de su querido:
 La quarta es ver que no puede
 Dar a su hijo desvio
 De aquel mandamiento eterno
 Que por fuerza ha de cumplirlo.
 ¡ Brava lucha de contrarios
 Tuvó este siervo bendito,
 Y al fin con su gran constancia
 Todos quedaron rendidos!
 Pasa con furia el puñal
 Una vez, y no ha podido
 Cortar el delgado cuero
 Del cuello tierno y rendido;
 Y fué que los almalaques

Embozaron el cuchillo;
 Dando al Señor piadoso
 Grandes voces y apellidos:
 O' Señor, que ante tus ojos,
 Estan estos dos amigos,
 Quentre todas las naciones
 Han sido por ti escogidos!
 Ten misericordia dellos,
 Pues ya tienes conocido
 Su intento, habe piadad
 Del mancebo tierno y niño."
 Dixó Alláh á sus almalaques;
 " Todo lo veo y lo asigno,
 Si me pedirán socorro
 En su afijido conflicto
 Yo los libraré, que soy
 Sobre todos piadosisimo."
 Volvió segunda vegada
 Y aunque con rigor crecido
 Apretó el puñal Ibráhim,
 El golpe quedó en vacío.
 Dixó Ismael; " O' mi padre!
 " Do está tu valor altivo
 Que tan trocado lo veo
 De aquello que siempre ha sido?
 Despide el cobarde miedo
 Y si se embotan los hilos
 Del puñal, hiere de punta:
 Apreta el brazo temido
 Que atraviase mi garganta
 Sin ser á piadad movido;
 Acelera el mandamiento,
 Da pesar á tu enemigo
 El axaitam, que te impide
 Intento tan santo y pío."
 Prueba Bráhim de aquel modo
 Con fuerza, mas aunque quis
 Trávesar la aguda punta,
 Pensando cortar el hilo,
 Y acabar en aquel golpe
 Su gueso, mas no ha podido
 Herille, ni sacar sangre,
 Y en el punto questo vidó,
 Ismael arrodillado,
 Estas palabras ha dicho.

ROGATIVA.

¡ O' mi Señor! tú que vives
 En el siglo de los siglos,

Sin darte enojo ni pena
 Tus alarjes ni alcorcies,¹

¹ كرمي و عرش tronos de la Divina Magestad.

Apiada mi niñez
 Y mi infancia y mocedad,
 También á la ancianidad
 De mi padre y vejez :
 Da de mi fecho esta vez
 Tal salida y muy buen corte
 Para descanso y conorte¹
 Pues eres justo juez ;
 Pues solo con tu querer
 Seré libre de afliccion,
 Claro sabes mi intencion,
 Lo que soy y puedo ser :
 Habe piadad de las canas
 De mi padre el aflijido ;
 No menosprecies mi hecho
 De manera quel maldito
 Axaitan tenga vitoria,
 Y yo quede descaído :
 Que tú eres el poderoso
 Vencedor, nunca vencido.”
 Acabada su oracion
 Con animo nunca visto
 Volvió á inclinar el cuello :
 “ Delibera padre,” dixo.
 Probó la quarta jornada.
 A herir, y fué impidido
 Por que le detuvó el brazo
 El fiel Chebril, descendido
 Por mandado del Rey alto,
 Y él que traia consigo
 Un carnero hermoso y grueso,
 Criado en el parayso,
 Del Firdauz, el mas alto
 De todos los paraysos.
 Tomóle Chebril del brazo
 Y dixo: “ buen amigo
 Dexa el mancebo glorioso,
 Librale que ya es cumplido
 Su alcorben, y en su rescate
 Toma ese carnero escogido
 Por manos de tu Señor :
 Y este será el sacrificio.
 Que de ti ya está contento
 Y de tu hijo asi mismo.”
 Muy contento el buen Ibráhim,
 Desató su amado hijo,
 Y degolló aquel carnero,
 Quel fiel Chebril ha traído,

¹ Consuelo.

Y comieron de su carne ;
 De donde tomó principio
 El prez de las adaheas,²
 Asunado y referido
 Por nuestro honrrado annabi
 Y sus sihabes los limpios.
 Y descendiendo del monte,
 Toman apriesa el camino
 De la Ciudad, muy alegres
 De su caso sucedido.
 Ya toparon á su madre
 Que con cuidado ha salido
 Á recebir á los dos ;
 Y como venir los vidó,
 Abrazó á su hijo Ismael
 Y lo besó en los carrillos ;
 Y ellos le dieron la nueva
 De aquello que ha sucedido,
 De lo qual quedó espantada,
 Y aunque á su hijo consigo
 Lo tenia, siempre estuvó
 Con el recelo grandisimo :
 Jamas pudo asegurarse
 Hasta quel angel le dixo
 Que de su hijo saldrian
 Varones santos y limpios,
 Generaciones sin cuento,
 De donde seria nacido
 El gran caudillo Muhamad
 De los profetas el sillo :
 Por cuyo amor crió Alláh
 Las tierras, mares y rios,
 El cielo con sus lanternas,
 Angeles, plantas y signos.
 Con esto la gran princesa
 Se consoló y satisfizó,
 Loando al Señor del cielo
 Que tal bien le ha concedido ;
 Y en memoria deste hecho,
 La ora de aquel cilicio
 Santificó el buen Ibráhim
 Con dos aracas contino
 De azala, que los creyentes
 Muchos las han mantenido,
 Aquel mesmo punto y hora,
 Que fué quando el sol salido
 Se esparce por todo el mundo
 Y es adoha su apellido ;

² ضحية dahiat, sacrificio.

Y por las quatro congojas
Que al tiempo del sacrificio
Se le juntaron á una,
El buen patriarca hizo
Quatro racas de azala,
Mostrandose agradecido
Al Señor que los libró
De aquellos quatro castigos.
Fué al punto de medio dia

Quando estas racas hizo,
Por que el alcorben duró
Desde quel sol fué esparcido
Hasta que estuvo en su cumbre ;
De donde tomó principio
El alto azalá del dohar ;¹
Y nos quedó adeudecido
Solo el dim de Muhamad
Por su grande beneficio.

CUENTASE EN ESTE CANTO LA LINEA DE YZHAQ,
PATRON DE LOS JUDIOS Y CRISTIANOS, Y EL
ASIENTO DEL PUEBLO DE YZRAEL, Y LOS GRANDES
HECHOS DE LOS ANABIES QUE DE AQUI PROCE-
DIERON HASTA YCE ALEHISALEM, Y LAS VENTAJAS
QUE DE CADA UNO DE ELLOS HEREDAMOS QUE FUE
EL PRINCIPAL MOTIVO DE HACER ESTE LIBRO, POR
QUE HABIA MUCHOS YGNORANTES DELLOS.

Despues del gran sacrificio,
Siendo ya muy vieja Sara,
Y viviendo siempre, Bráhim
En los limites de Arabia ;
Siendo de edad de cien años,
Y Sara en noventa, estaba
De concebir ningun hijo
Del todo disfuizada ;
Por que conforme á naturaleza,
Era ya privilegiada,
Esteril por todas partes
Por su ancianidad cansada.
Y como solo Alláh sabe
Destos secretos la causa,
Y él á si solo se entiende,
Su saber á toda basta ;
Baxó Chebril, y le dixo
Que se habia de hacer preñada
De un hijo, y ello riendo
Dixó como que burlaba,
"Reir me hace tu dieho
Con esa nueva embaxada,
Y quien me viese parir
Al cabo de mi jornada
Y tener hijo á mis pechos,
Siendo tan vieja y tan lacia."
Dixó el angel : "ese nombre
Llevará el hijo que paras,
Risa será su apellido,

Y advierte, dueña preciada,
Quen su gran genealogia
Habrá gente justa y santa ;
Empero habrá gente inica,
Torpe, perfida, yerrada,²
Y ansi como tú has burlado
De la divina palabra ;
Serán por Luzbel burlados
Tu descendiente prosapia."
Con esto se fué Chebril
Y ella salió de su casa,
En busca de su marido,
Alegre y regocijada,
Para pidir las albricias,
Quel angel le denunciaba,
Que Alláh le ofrecia un hijo
Para regalo á su casa.
Tenia Bráhim en sus brazos
A Ismael que tanto amaba,
Y respondió á su muger :
¡ Este viva³ ante mi cara !
Dando á entender que aquel solo
Era el que mas estimaba,
Y quel tener otro hijo
Ya casi dificultaba.
Cumplidos los nueve meses,
Parió un hijo, y le llamaban
Yzhaq : quiere decir risa
Como el angel albriciaba.

¹ ^{١٢} medio dia.² Y honrada, variante.³ Estas tibia, variante.

Este Yzhaq fue el patron
De los de Baniseraila,
Que fué el pueblo de Isrrael,
Gente de Dios muy honrrada.
Este casó con Rebeca,
Hebrea y de buena casta,
La qual criado Batuel
Presentó las arracadas :
Tuvó por hijo á Yacub,
Ques él que de una ventrada
Se engendró con Esau,
Y en el vientre pedenciaba
Por qual naceria el primero ;
Pero este se adelantaba
Al nacer, y tras de si
Yacub asido á su planta,
Al fin le quitó la suerte
Del nacer por su arrogancia ;
Pero Yacub le quitó
La bendicion y la gracia.
Este Yacub fué hombre justo
Y casó en Mesopotamia
Con dos hijas de su tío
Laban, y otras dos criadas,
De suerte que fueron quatro
Sus mugeres adotadas,¹
Donde tuvó doce hijos,
Annabíes de gran fama,
Que hiereron doce linajes,
Doce tribus, doce casas,
De dó tomaron origen
Estos de Baniseraila :
A donde hubó muchos justos,
Gente al Señor allegada,
Y sobre quien fueron hechas
Muchas mercedes y gracias.
Tambien como habemos dicho
Decendió gente albarrana,²
Sobre quien baxo castigos
Maldiciones y desgracias :
De aqui procedió Yusuf
Que fué justo Patriarca,
Muse, grande consejero,
Trajó la ley de las tablas ;
Eron fue hermano de aquel,³
Que le ayudó á publicarlas.

Josué, el capitan famoso
A quien la lid fué entregada ;
Deud con el azabor,⁴
Carta por Alláh firmada ;
Sulaimen él del anillo
Con el qual regia y mandaba ;
Daniel, el de los leones,
Yunez, qué del pez se llama ;
Zacarias sacerdote,
Yahie él de la vida santa,
Joachim que fue Imerem
Con quien fué casada Ana,
Padre de Mariem la limpia,
En el mundo especialada :
De quien nació el justo Ice,
A quien la gente cristiana
Adoran en lugar de Dios,
Ciega, torpe y engañada.
Volvamos pues al origen
A ver en que se empleaba :
Diremos, aunque de paso
Sus obras tan señaladas,
Y tambien lo que la Suna
Tomó de sus ybantajas
Que sus obras de estos fueron
Salvacion de nuestras almas.
Izhaq, como tengo dicho,
Fué el primer Patriarca
De Isrrael, hijo segundo,
De Bráhim nació y de Sara,
Fué justo siervo de Alláh :
Cada dia visitaba
El sepulcro de su padre
Tres veces, y veneraba
El sepulcro de su padre,
Aquel lugar con gran honrra
Y salva reverenciada,
Y el redoble de su esquilmo,
De sus ganados la lana,
A los pobres y acuitados
En asadaca⁵ los daba.
Siempre tuvó con su hermano
Ismael grande alianza, [honrra ;
Grande hermandad, grande
Siempre vivieron en gracia.
Yacob dedico al Señor

¹ Adoptadas, Paris MS.² براني extranjero.³ Cruel, variante.⁴ زبور los salmos.⁵ صدقة limosna.

Quatro promesas muy raras,
 Que por Caebu alchaber
 Han sido muy alabadas :
 La primera harramó¹
 Sus potages y viandas
 De comerlas, hasta tanto
 De haber hecho dos racas,
 Sobre aquella bendicion
 Que Allah le sustentaba :
 La segunda, no comia
 Hasta que la gente flaca
 Gustaba la provision
 Que para él era guisada :
 La tercera es que tenia
 Tantas misiones guardadas
 Cómo los dias del año
 Con juro de no tocarlas,
 Aunque la necesidad
 Á tal esmero² lo traiga :
 Con los quales mantenía
 La gente necesitada.
 La quarta es que prometió
 Que jamas seria negada
 El agua de sus aljubes
 Á la gente desecada.
 ¡ O justo y grande annabi !
 No en balde se rociaban
 Tus campos verdes floridos !
 Te pudiera dar la palma
 Quien siguió tus grandes hechos
 Tus collados y manadas ;
 Contra la fuerza de un angel
 Y una tan grande constancia.
 Este luchó con Chebril
 Que decendió en forma humana,
 Y asidos á braz partido,
 Duró su contienda brava
 Desde la ora de almagrib³
 Hasta que fué el alba clara,
 Quedando Yacub en pie
 Invencible, y con gran fama ;
 De dó pudo colegir
 Como á la nacion de Hagna
 No hay fortaleza que pueda
 Rendilla ni sujetalla.
 Este vió, estando durmiendo,

Desde sus pies una escala
 Que tocaba con el cielo
 Por dó subian y baxaban
 Angeles sin detallarse
 Á donde durmiendo estaba.
 Este fué despues de Noh,
 Segun los nauhes declaran
 El que vió mayores hechos
 De todos los patriarcas.
 Yusuf dice el alcoran
 Que vió que se le azaxdaban
 En sueños el sol y luna
 Con once estrellas muy claras.
 Este es el que fué empozado,
 Vendido á gentes estrañas,
 Y despues en almoneda
 Vendido en publica plaza :
 Diez y siete años estuvo
 En carceles algaribas
 Por su beldad perseguido,
 Por su honrra limpia y casta.
 Este dicen que lloró
 En la carcel donde estaba,
 Por que no podia cumplir
 Aquel azala que usaba
 Por aquella hediondez
 Y aquella rudeza tanta,
 Y que para su guado⁴
 Tambien le faltaba el agua :
 A lo qual baxó Chebril
 Y dijo : si el agua falta,
 " O yusuf ! toma la tierra
 Limpia, y con ella te amaha."
 De aqui nuestra santa zuna
 Toma el modo y la traza
 Del prez del atayamun,⁵
 Libertad tan necesaria,
 De aqui puedes colegir
 Que jamas hubo desgracia,
 O trabajo que no fuese
 Camino de mas ganancia.
 Este frequentó los ritos
 De Bráhim y su loanza,
 Como la circumcission,
 La quarta y diezma pagaba.
 Restauró los Ysraelitas


¹ حرام prohibió. ² Miseria, variante.

³ وضوء Purificación.

⁴ La puesta del sol.

⁵ التيمم

De aquellas fieras alaidas ;
 Y así el Señor lo ensalzó
 Sobre la gente Egipciana
 Pues vino á señorearles
 A todos de banda á banda,
 Comprados como cautivos
 Sus personas y sus casas.
 Muse fué muy escogido,
 Pues mereció ya la habla
 Del Señor de toda cosa,
 Por su mansedumbre tanta ;
 Y con su divina mano
 Le dió la ley de las tablas
 Sin intervencion de angel
 Que le dixese palabra.
 Este escogido profeta
 Hizó promesas muy altas,
 Por redimir á su pueblo
 De esclavitud tan pesada ;
 Y así los sacó de Egipto
 Por su gran perseveranza,
 A pesar de Faraon.
 Rey tirano é ydolatra ;
 Y hallandose en el mar rojo,
 Hirió sobrel con su vara
 Doce golpes, que rompieron
 Hasta sus centros las aguas,
 Haciendose doce calles
 Derechas, enxutas y anchas,
 Por dó los doce linages
 De Isrrael al punto pasan.
 Y como llegó al desierto,
 Luego les baxó viandas,
 Con lo qual se sustentaron
 Todas aquellas compañías.
 Otras muy grandes proezas
 Hizó este justo en resguarda
 De la honrra y salvacion
 De los de Baniceraila :
 Y jamas fueron contentos,
 Gente ruda y muy ingrata,
 Desconocida, sin fe,
 De dó quedó interpretada
 La cisma de aquel becerro
 Que guardan los de su casta.
 Cuentase de este anabi
 Que saliendo una tardada,
 Huyendo de Faraon

¹  el anoecer.

Y de su indignada saña,
 Se cerró la noche oscura
 Y allí quatro fieras ansias
 Se le juntaron á una,
 Quel corazon le apretaban :
 La una el miedo del Rey,
 La otra el de su compañía,
 Que tanto los oprimia
 Este mal Rey, y quedaban
 Entre ellos su madre triste,
 Ques lo que mas le aquejaba :
 La quarta la escuredad
 De la noche, que no osaba
 Andar atras ni adelante,
 No sabiendo que se haga.
 Y en medio esta confusion
 Hizó aquellas quatro Racas,
 Que hacemos los musulimes
 Y les llamamos alatema ;¹
 Por estas quatro congoxas
 Que á un tiempo se le juntaban :
 De las quales fué guarido
 Y ellas fueron desviadas,
 Quen acabando de hacellas,
 Oyó la voz que le llama
 Del Señor, dandole esfuerzo
 Con el qual se consolaba.
 Yuhai² fué grande caudillo,
 A quien por Alláh fué dada
 La conquista que Moisen
 No pudo ver acabada.
 Este famoso caudillo,
 Dice la escriptura ebraica,
 Que siguiendo una vitoria,
 Viendo que ya declinaba
 El sol, y que no podia
 Aquella tarde acaballa,
 Yendo sobre su caballo
 Hacia las clines se abaja,
 Y arraqueó su cabeza
 Diciendo aquestas palabras :
 ¡ "O' Señor de las conquistas !
 Mis fuerzas cortas y flacas
 Aguardan tu poderio
 Sin el qual no pueden nada."
 No dixó mas y en el punto
 Que su cabeza levanta,
 Mandó Alláh quel sol se pare

² Josue.

Hasta que fuese acabada
 La batalla por Josué,
 Llevando vitoria y palma.
 Este fué grande misterio;
 Grande merced, grande gracia,
 Que se detuviese el sol
 Por una rogaria humana.
 Con qué corazon tan limpio
 Con qué sinceras entrañas
 Debía decir este justo
 Aquellas breves palabras.
 Todo esto va encaminado
 A que Alláh nos dé enseñanza,
 Que á nuestra halecacion
 Todo se humilla y se acata.
 David, el real profeta,
 Tuvó grandes ventajas.
 Despues que venció á Golias,
 Siendo mozueto sin barbas,
 Hizó una dedicacion
 Muy solida y muy estraña,
 Que dedicó á su Señor
 Dos aracas ordinarias,
 Al punto quel sol salia,
 Y quando se declinaba,
 Cosa de gran vigilancia,
 Que no habia tiempo seguro
 En las salidas y entradas
 De la luna noche y dia,
 A todas las horas llama.
 Muchas mas dedicaciones
 Hizó de grande importancia,
 Y todas las sustentó
 Sin ninguna discrepancia.
 Y despues de su rescalo¹
 Fué su penitencia tanta
 Que sobrepujó á la edad
 Y nunca se dilatava,
 Si Chebril no le dixera
 Que parese en alcafera.
 Despues hizó ante el Señor,
 Tan perfectas alabanzas,
 Que han servido de dechado
 Del mundo aquellas pigramas.
 Quareinta años duró
 Su penitencia tan aspera,
 A mas de quareinta dias
 Que creció su grande alaida.

¹ Pecado.

Vinó su real presencia
 A ser tan debilitada,
 Quel bulto de su persona
 Casi se disfiguraba.
 De aqui nos queda el amaho
 De las limpias alcafaras
 Y buenas apenitencias,
 Pobladoras del alchana.
 ; O' justo y real profeta,
 Quanto provecho y ganancia
 Resueltó de tu distinto,
 Y quantas eternas llagas
 Con la tuya se han curado,
 Y aun han lavado sus manchas !
 Quantos á la horrible pena
 Tienen vueltas las espaldas,
 Que hubieran quedado enmedio
 Si dexaran tu imitanza !
 No en vano te dió el Señor
 De tu aspereza tal paga ;
 Que no solo tu rescalo
 Y tus homicidas faltas
 Perdonó, mas quiso hacerte
 Otras mercedes tan anchas,
 Que de tu mismo rescalo,
 De tu carnal destinanza,
 Naciese el gran Sulaimen.
 Errada bien acertada,
 Bien aventurado Rey ;
 Torpeza bien empleada
 Que engendró tal criatura
 Tan pura, tan justa y santa.
 Sulaimen, hijo de David,
 Fué Rey desplendidas gracias,
 Pues de los cielos abaxó
 Mandaba y señoreaba,
 Personas, alxines² y aves
 Vientos nubes y alimañas,
 Y á todas las cosas tuvo
 Saber para gobernallas.
 Cuya sujecion pendia
 De una sortija dó estaba
 En triangulo esculpida
 Sus palabras de alabanza,
 Alhamdu lillahi decia,
 Y en la tercera estampada
 Estaba Alláh hu aqbar,
 Escritas en lengua Ebraica :

² الجن ² espiritus.

Con quien sus Reynos regia
 En paz quieta y sosegada.
 Deste gran Rey Sulaimen
 Cuenta el annabi Muhamad
 Que fué tan sin igual su Reyno,
 Y tan sin par fué su gracia,
 Tanta su sabiduria,
 Su riqueza tan sobrada,
 Que se hermanó con el mundo
 Hizó con el su alianza,
 Ques gran reclamo de pompas
 Y de ambiciones hinchadas;
 Y como nunca el Señor
 De tales cosas se apaga
 Y quiere que conozcamos
 De sus arrizques, mañana
 Fué servido de quitarle
 El Reyno con que se honrraba,
 Y darle en lugar de aquel
 Probeza menguada y baxa.
 Solia este Rey quitarse
 El anillo quando entraba
 A servir á su Señor
 Y á una doncella lo daba
 Que se lo guardase en tanto
 Que á su Señor se allegaba.
 Y como tenia sujeta
 Aquella fiera canalla
 De los falsos axaitanes,
 Lo quellos abominaban,
 Siempre andaban revolviendo
 Mil enredos y mil trazas,
 Por do poderse librar
 De subjecion tan pesada:
 Uno destos enemigos
 Que Hariço se llamaba,
 Engaño aquella Doncella
 Quel anillo tenia en guarda,
 Pidóle que se lo diese
 Y en la mar mas apretada
 Lo hundió, y le tragó un pez;
 Y al tiempo quel Rey demanda
 Su sortija á la doncella,
 Respondió con voz turbada
 Que ya se lo habia dado,
 Y dixóle las palabras
 Con que se lo habia dado,
 Quera el termino que usaba,

Y con los mismos vestidos
 Que su persona arreaba.
 Luego el buen Rey conocio
 Que sobrel era la saña
 De su Señor y que aquella
 Sin duda era reprobanza.
 Estuvó ansi y en el punto
 Que fué la noche llegada
 Se quitó el Real vestido
 Y con unas ropas baxas,
 Con un baculo en sus manos
 Dando al Señor alabanzas
 Se salió de su palacio
 Gimiendo sus culpas tantas.
 Anduvó asi como pobre
 Por tierras muy arredradas
 Menoscabado y corrido,
 Su persona avergonzada;
 Vinó á tan grande pobreza,
 Y á ser tan menospreciada
 Su persona, que los pobres
 De andar con el se apartaban
 Diciendo que por el solo
 Limosna nadi les daba.
 Quareinta dias y noches
 Andó sin gustar vianda
 Sustentando su persona
 De la gracia soberana,
 Hasta que Allah fué servido
 Quen esta peregrinanza
 Le dió el Senor en riqueza
 Una muger ydolatra
 Hija del Rey, que á pesar
 De su padre fué casada,
 Y la batío del palacio
 Desnuda y muy afrentada:
 Hallaronse los dos juntos
 Junto al mar donde pescaban
 Unos pobres pescadores,
 Y les dieron en asadaca¹
 Dos pezes y en el menor
 Halló su Joya preciada;
 Y besando aquellas letras
 Que el anillo rodeaban,
 Dando gracias ád Allah
 Que á su dedo lo tornaba;
 Y en aquel mismo momento
 Todas las cosas criadas

¹ Limosna.

Le prestaban obidencia
 Como de antes se la daban,
 Y descendiendo una nube
 Se ponen y en ella marchan
 El y su amada muger
 A su ciudad deseada.
 Despues desto baxó el angel
 Con que su Señor le manda
 Edifique aquel gran templo
 Que se llama casa Santa,
 Digo baitu almaqdz,¹
 Obra insigne y muy preciada,
 A quien todas las Naciones
 Veneran, honrran y acatan.
 Daniel fué justo profeta,
 Fué el que liberto á su saña,
 Quando estuvo en Babilonia,
 Cautivo por Bultunasar.
 Este fué aquel Rey Dario,
 A petición de sus satrapas,
 Le puso en un fiero silo,
 Entre siete fieras bravas,
 Quen tres dias no les dieron
 De comer, por que su rabia
 La saciasen en Daniel;
 Mas él como confiaba
 En el poder de su Dios,
 Con grande consuelo baxa
 Al lago de los leones:
 Con grande amor se le halagan.
 Dia y medio estuvo alli,
 Y quando fué á la mañana,
 Fueron el Rey y su gente,
 Aquellos que le acusaban;
 Pensando hallarlo comido,
 Muy alegre se mostraba.
 Como el Rey llegó á la cueva
 Del silo á voces le llama,
 Diciendo con gran dolor,
 Por que en estremo le amaba:
 ¡A Daniel; ha-te librado
 Tu Dios, en quien confiabas?
 Luego respondió Daniel
 ¡O Rey! vivas vida larga,
 Vivo estoy, sano y entero,
 Sin cosa que mal me haga.
 Mi Dios en quien yo confío,
 Viendo sin culpa mi causa,

Mandó descendiese un angel
 Y puso su grande amparo,
 Y detuvo á los leones
 Con su divina palabra.
 El Rey con grande contento
 Lo sacó, y con muy gran saña
 A los satrapas malditos
 Dentro del silo los lanza,
 Con que saciaron su hambre
 Las sangrientas alimañas.
 Fué este hecho tan notable
 Y tan publica esta hazaña,
 Y tan grande este milagro
 Que les dió á su compañía²
 Y á los demas de su Reyno
 Luego les escribe y manda
 Que adorasen al Señor
 A quien Daniel adoraba.
 Otra vez por el Rey Ciro
 De Media, con furia y saña,
 Lo lanzaron en el lago
 Donde estuvo una semana,
 Con siete leones fieros,
 Y la boca bien cerrada.
 Alláh mandó que Bacub³
 El almuerzo que llevaba
 A sus peones lo lleve,
 Y en solo alzar las pestañas
 Atravesó tantas leguas,
 Por que el angel lo llevaba;
 Y en llegando al fiero silo
 Luego les dió la vianda,
 Y el se volvió á sus peones,
 Sin perder solo una daga
 De tiempo; y quando vinieron
 El Rey y su gente mala
 A ver si era comido,
 El justo Daniel levanta
 La piedra de la ancha boca,
 Y vieronle como estaba,
 Dando pan á los leones
 Como si él se los criara.
 El Rey, muy contento desto,
 Al buen Daniel luego abraza,
 Y á los que le persiguieron
 Los da á las alimañas,
 Do fueron despedazados,
 Sin quedarles cosa sana;

¹ بيت المقدس² Variante, que Dario y su compañía.³ Abacuc, P.

Que á las veces la cautela
 A su propio dueño engaña.
 Este annabi nos enseña
 La fe firme, y confianza
 En Alláh, quantos trabajos
 Consume, rinde y acaba.
 Confiemos en Alláh,
 Nadi pierda confianza;
 En los mayores peligros
 Alli es mas cierta su rahma.
 Yunez nos muestra lo mismo
 Por que su desconfianza
 Bastó á quitar el sosiego
 Del mar y sus fieras aguas,
 Por donde hubó de arrojar-se,
 Y al tiempo que se arrojaba
 Al agua, vió la ballena
 Que boca abierta le aguarda:
 Y quando se vidó dentro,
 Conoció su grande falta.
 Alli demandó perdon,
 Alli sospira, y reclama
 La piedad de su Señor,
 Viendo el estrecho en que estaba.
 Alli se le presentaron
 Quatro lobregas amparas
 Que de qualquiera de aquellas
 Tremola el cuerpo y el alma:
 La escuredad de su culpa;
 La escuredad de las aguas;
 La escuredad de la noche,
 Y la del vientre en que estaba.
 Baxó la palabra inmensa
 Sobre la langosta brava,
 Mandando que lo guardase
 Como sus propias entrañas.
 Quisó Alláh que al tercero dia
 Lo vomitase, y lo saca
 De su vientre á tierra firme;
 Y fué quando ya pasadas
 Eran dél dia tres partes
 Y viendose en suya¹ salva,
 Fuera de tan gran peligro,
 Hizó azala, quatro Racas,
 Por las quatro escuredades
 Que vió dentro de las aguas;
 Por que Alláh lo liberto
 Dellas con tanta bonanza.

¹ Yunas en salvo, P.

Estas son por nuestro dim
 Á nosotros preceptadas,
 Y son las que celebramos
 Al tiempo y ora de alasar.²
 Yahie fué santificado
 Y su licencia fincada
 Por la mano del Señor,
 Como el alcoram declara.
 Este fué el que en su niñez
 Desamparó la fragancia
 Del mundo, y dexó á sus padres,
 Y se puso en vida santa:
 Andabase por los montes
 Con las fieras alimañas,
 Desnudo al ayre y al yelo,
 Su cara abierta y tostada;
 Comiendo las yerbas crudas
 Y bebiendo aguas saladas;
 Durmiendo siempre al sereno,³
 Sin temer la fiera escarcha.
 Era ya tan conocido
 De las aves, que asentaban
 Encima de su cabeza;
 Las alimañas andaban
 Siempre en compañía suya
 Qual si fueran de su casta.
 Fuéle á visitar su madre
 Isabel, muy congoxada
 De verle como silvestre,
 Su cara desfigurada,
 Sus carnes sin cobertura,
 Teñidas y trasfustadas,
 Sus pies descalzos rompidos
 De las espinas y yeladas;
 Y en vez de le dar contento
 Y de volver á su casa,
 Como ella se lo pidia,
 Derramando ardientes lagrimas,
 Le dixo: "amada madre!
 Ya sabes quen tu compañía
 He pasado mi niñez,
 Obidiente á tus palabras,
 Agora que ya soy hombre
 Seguiré mi caulebanza
 Ques servir á mi Hacedor,
 Que no puedo hacerle falta."
 De aquí nuestra Santa Suna
 Toma origen, y nos manda

² عصر³ Al frio al yelo, variante.

Que teniendo edad sigamos
 La comanda preceptaria.
 Ise fué él que le llamaron
 Almahiz por que sanava
 Tocando qualquier herida,
 Y con su mano amahaba
 Qualquiera cosa constricta,
 Coxos y mancos curaba,
 Tullidos y contagiosos,
 Y á los que de gota estaban ;
 A los ciegos dába vista
 A los mudos daba habla,
 A los sordos el oir,
 Los muertos resucitaba ;
 Hacia aves de barro,
 Y con su aliento volaban,
 Espelia los demonios
 De donde quiera que estaban :
 Y todos estos milagros
 Que con la divina gracia
 Hizo por su fe crecida,
 Y no le aprovechó nada ;
 Antes fueron confusiones,
 Por que la gente, turbada
 De tan grandes maravillas,
 Negaron al que le daba
 El ser con que los hacia ;
 Y al mensagero, adoraban
 Tomandolo por Señor

Incitados de la traza
 Del maldito Lucifer,
 De dó quedo cimentada
 La confusa trinidad,
 Ceguedad jamas pensada.
 Y quando Ise entendio
 Que por Señor le adoraban,
 Haciendole trinidad,
 Cosa dél tan apartada,
 Fue á la ora quel sol se ponía
 Quando esto le denunciaban,
 Y defendiendose dello
 Hizo ad Allah tres arracas,
 Aquellas que son de almagrib
 Que hoy los muzlimes guardan
 Negando las dos personas
 Que á su Señor le aplicaban,
 Y afirmando la unidad
 Sin ponerle semejanza :
 Al fin Alláh lo enxalzó
 Dentre esta gente engañada
 Quedando oscuros, sin fe,
 Sin salvacion y sin gracia.
 En este santo annabi
 Hicieron parada y raya
 Los profetas y annabies
 Los alquitebes y cartas
 Que sobre los de Isrrael
 Fueron del cielo baxadas.

ISTORIA CUARTA DEL DISCURSO DE LA LUZ DE
 MUHAMAD SALAM: ACABASE DE DECLARAR EL
 ASIENTO DE LOS DOS PUEBLOS DE ISRAEL Y DE
 ARABIA. LA REVELACION DE ALHADIR PASA A
 LA VARONIA DE LA LUZ HASTA HEXIM, BISA-
 GUELO DE NUESTRO ANNABI MUHAMAD SALAM.

Ysmael él del sacrificio,
 De Brahím el mayorazgo,
 Nieto del gran Rey Agar,
 Por la luz especialado,
 Fué varon justo y sagaz,
 Robusto, fuerte y osado ;
 Muy diestro en los exercicios
 De los militares campos.
 Este casó en Aliaman
 Con muger noble y de estado,
 Casta, rica y de gran prez ;
 Fué rico y de muchos algos,

Y con muy grandes pleyadas
 De camellos y ganados ;
 Y mentó mucho a su Dios
 En ser limosnero y franco :
 Hospedaba peregrinos,
 Socorria al acuitado ;
 Consolaba al afligido,
 Acompañaba á los flacos.
 Usaba ordinariamente
 En los caminos y atajos
 Por do la gente pasaba,
 Tener ganado aprestado,

Y él iba con provision ;
 Y en el camino asentado
 Aguardaba á los pastores,
 Y con caricioso amaho
 Les daba del pan y leche
 Con grande gusto y regalo.
 Y así en su ausencia mandaba
 Á sus mozos y criados
 Con todos los pasajeros
 Tengan el mismo cuidado.
 Fué padre de doce hijos
 Principes nobles y honrrados,
 De los quales fué escogido
 Para el alto principado
 De la luz, el justo Zebid,
 Varon justo y muy honrrado.
 Mandóle su padre Ismael,
 Luego como fué casado,
 Quel y su genealogia
 Habitasen de ordinario
 Dentro de Maca y su tierra ;
 Por que su linaje claro
 Era escogido en las gentes
 Para aquel sitio nombrado ;
 Prometido al gran Muhamad
 Y los que siguen su bando.
 En quien los dos linajes
 Donde y como se apartaron
 Segun estampados fueron
 En el pergamino ó paño
 Que Edam entregó á su hijo,
 Por su Señor encargado.
 Izhaq, como tengo dicho,
 Dió cimientó al pueblo Ebraico ;
 Con todos sus descendientes,
 Por su padre encomendado
 Que poblase del Jordan
 Aquel territorio ó patio
 En donde perpetuamente
 Residieron y poblaron.
 Ismael quedó en Arabia,
 Como ahora ymos contando,
 Siguiendo la varonia
 De aquel linaje enxalzado :
 Que bien paga Dios las obras
 De aquellos que se emplearon

En su divino servicio,
 Y por su amor trabajaron.
 ¡ Que bien que lo satisfizó
 Las angustias y trabajos !
 Ibráhim, como le oyeron,
 Siervo bien aventurado,
 Que mereció ser patron
 De dos pueblos tan honrrados,
 De linajes los mejores
 Que jamas fueron criados !
 Por la honrra de Izhaq
 De ordinario encaminaron
 Las justas dedicaciones,
 Que todo está en el Ebraico,
 Por la de Ismael corriendo
 El documental espandio
 Y regla espiritual
 Con grandes preces y amahos
 Que todo nace y deciende
 De nuestro alcoran honrrado.
 Y por no causar fastidio,
 Seran en breve contados
 Los varones que esta luz
 Hasta Abdulpunef llevaron ;
 Que puesto caso que entonces
 Hubó hechos muy granados,
 Dignos de gran alabanza,
 Segun los ya recitados ;
 Decimos de solo aquellos
 Que hacen mas á nuestro caso.
 Y lo demas de uno á otro
 Los yremos señalando.
 Ya tengo dicho que Zebid
 Heredó este don preciado.
 De su padre, el buen Ismael,
 Eslitó¹ en sus doce hermanos.
 El lo encomendó á Quebil²
 De dó Zelih³ le hizo paso,
 Muhebid⁴ siguió tras deste ;
 Emin⁵ fué dél engendrado
 Y Laguan le sucedio,
 De este á Zaret⁶ fué mudado.
 Munir⁷ le siguió tras este
 Hamir⁸ siguió el mismo bando,
 Zelib⁹ tambien lo siguió
 Y en Yulad fué trasladado

¹ Por esleito ant. por elegido.⁴ Muxehib, P.⁸ Amir, P.² Chemil, MS. Paris.⁵ Emin, P.⁹ Zelif, P.⁶ Sabah, P.³ Alevz, MS. Paris.⁷ Munir, P.

En Admen fue transferido,
 En Gálíb Mador trocado,
 El qual engendró á Mador,
 Padre de Alhadir¹ el santo,
 Y aunquese nuestro corriente
 Detengamos algun tanto,
 Será bien hacer memoria
 De lo que deste heredamos.
 Este dedicó al Señor
 Un hecho muy levantado
 Que cada noche hacia
 Antes de ser acostado
 Diez racas de zala
 Con cien tazbihes rezados ;
 Y estos sin faltar un punto
 A lo que tenia votado.
 Sucedióle que una noche,
 Sintiendose fatigado,
 Se durmió sin acudir
 A su debido ordinario ;
 Y estando en su dulce sueño,
 Vió que se le presentaron
 Dos visiones en el ayre
 De un mismo bulto y tamaño.
 La una par de la otra
 Y cada qual por su cabo
 Daba tres ramos de luz
 Muy relumbrantes y claros.
 Pasó ansi toda la noche
 Y el dia muy congoxado,
 Aflijido por la falta,
 Quen su promesa ha faltado ;
 Y en llegando á la segunda
 Con gran presteza y recato
 Se tahará por temor
 De su descuido pasado :
 Y acabadas sus arracas,
 Y sus tazbihes rezando,
 Se durmió y cerró sus ojos
 Un sueño dulce y pesado,
 Y vió de las dos visiones
 Muy floridos ya sus ramos,
 Con flores blancas y azules,
 Y como que yban mostrando
 Señas de querer dar fruto,
 Y que sus ojas mirando,
 Lucian todo este suelo.
 Y que alargando su mano,

¹ Alhadir, P. Khidr.

Las tomaba y que le daban
 Un olor mas que almizcado.
 Asi pasó aquel dia,²
 Le privo de tal regalo :
 Y en llegando al tercero dia,
 Siempre como embelesado,
 Despues de su azaxdamiento
 Se durmio, y se le mostraron
 Los ramos ya con su fruto
 Perfecto y muy sazonado ;
 Y no pudo semblanzar
 Su amarillez rescogando,
 Y vió que muchas figuras,
 Como aves revolando,
 Se azaxdaban y humillaban
 A las visiones de grado ;
 Y que la noche y el dia
 Tambien se le azaxdaron.
 Vió mas con las dos visiones
 Dos allohes enfestados,
 Cada qual con su alcalam,
 Sin que los tocasen manos.
 Pues quando amanecio el dia,
 Alhader muy admirado,
 Pensativo y muy confuso
 No sabiendo dar traslado
 A la denotanza aquella
 Que tres noches ha soñado,
 Y dixó ante su Señor
 Este compendio abreviado.
 “ A ti Señor poderoso,
 Rey de los celestes astros ;
 Cambiador de nuestros hechos
 Nocentes y destinados,
 Dador de la esencia larga,
 Sin porque, como, ni quando,
 Procurador de tus siervos,
 Sobelador de sus plazos ;
 O’ Señor ! que tú nos diste
 La ynfluencia de tu mano,
 Unido con la razon
 De nuestros hechos causario,
 Pues, tú, Señor, no te apagas
 De nuestros distinos flacos,
 Por que son todos tus hechos
 Muy sublimes y perclaros ;
 Y siendo desta manera,
 No somos por ti emplazados

² Asi paso hasta quel dia P.

Para causa efetual;
 Antes muy libres estamos
 Sí á la razon atendemos
 Y al proabe que alcanzamos,
 Que tu divina palabra
 Á ninguno ató las manos.
 Señor, yo soy sobenible
 De tu obidencia y mandado,
 Y sin tu ayuda no hay fuerza,
 Ni saber sin ti no alcanzo,
 Si es que debo á ti, Señor,
 Á mas de lo acostumbrado
 Algun otro afeitamiento
 O' hecho redemisario,
 Enseñamelo, Señor,
 Como lo entienda mas claro;
 Y cumpla sin faltar punto
 Á lo que estoy obligado.”
 A esto baxó Chebril
 Á esforzarlo y albriciarlo,
 Que Allah nunca se descuida
 De los que le estan llamando:
 Y dixóle: “ya Alhadir!
 No mudes lo comenzado,
 Ni mudes otro supuesto
 De lo que hasta aqui has usado,”
 Dixó Alhadir! “ya mi amigo!
 Ha me sido preparado
 Circulos por mi visibles
 Tres noches á una mano;
 Y he visto claro en ellos
 Flores y fruto otoñado;
 Y su significacion
 Me tiene atemorizado.”
 Dixó el angel, “ó Alhadir!
 El Señor te ha demostrado
 En las visiones que dices
 Un hecho muy alto preparado;
 Lexos, de lo que pretendes,
 Vive alegre y conñado,
 Y sigue tu justa arenga,
 Como te tengo avisado.”
 Dicen los decretadores,
 Nuestros alimes y sabios
 Questa vision de Alhadir
 Se encargó en su vientre tanto,
 Que jamas hasta la muerte

Se derogó suplicando
 Á Alláh, que le mostrase
 De sus tasbihes el pago
 Hasta que volvió á soñar
 Que estaba puesto y cerrado
 De todos los tasbihantes
 De sus tasbihes gustando,
 Y que le dixó Chebril,
 Muy alegre y albriciando;
 Y á los justos se entregaron;
 Participante al sufragio
 De la mayor alfadila
 Que del cielo ha baxado,
 De las que de gracia fueron
 Y á los justos se entregaron;
 Y como nunca hubo hecho
 De los que hoy administramos,
 Que de ab inicio no fuese
 Similado asegurado,
 Quiso su bondad divina
 Con este justo albriciarnos,
 En Rachab y Xaban,
 Su premio grande y colmado,
 En fin que deste annabi
 Estos preceptos heredamos.
 Despues destas consonancias
 Que deste justo contamos,
 Padeció mucha conduelma
 Y gustó muchos trabajos.
 Este fué él que acompañó
 Al gran monarca Alexandro
 En muchos trances y riezgos,
 Y á quien amó en sumo grado.
 Volviendo pues al origen
 Que de nuestra luz llevamos,
 Digo que deste Alhadir
 Fué el justo que¹ engendrado
 Deste descendió Mudraq
 De aqui al Jucabib² mudado.
 Quena sucedió tras dél,
 Madir³ siguió el mismo bando,
 Despues Melique lo tuvó,
 Y á Galib quedó asignado:
 Á Luai quedó en herencia,
 De dó sucedió el gran Caebu
 Y tuvó á Murad⁴ por hijo,
 De dó Quelem⁵ fué engendrado:

¹ Drafe, P.² Hucaybet, P.³ Nadir, P.⁴ Murat, P.⁵ Quilem, P.

De Quelem habia Cuçai,¹
 Cuyo herencia fué asentado
 Sobre el valiente Curax,²
 De dó el renombre tomaron
 Los caudillos de Curax
 Tan temidos y mentados,
 Que dieron lustre en Arabia

Y en todos sus comarcas.
 De aquí vinó Abdulmunef,
 Padre de aquel afamado³
 Hexim que fué bisaguelo
 De nuestro annabi honrrado,⁴
 Cuya historia y grandes hechos
 Demanda tiempo y espacio.⁵

¹ Abiel cuçay, P.² Cuçay, P.³ Padre carnal del nombrado, P.⁴ Preciado, P.⁵ Esta genealogia está sacada del libro سيرة سيدنا محمد رسول الله

ابو محمد عبد الملك بن هشام النخعي. Gottingen 1858, de

محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد المطلب و اسم عبد المطلب شيبه
 بن هاشم و اسم هاشم عمرو بن عبد مناف و اسم عبد مناف المغيرة
 بن قصى و اسم قصى زيد بن كلاب بن مرة بن كعب بن لوى بن
 غالب بن فهر بن مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمة بن مدركة
 و اسم مدركة عامر بن الياس بن مضر ابن نزار بن معد بن عدنان
 بن اد و يقال اد بن مقوم بن ناحور بن تيرج بن يعرب بن يشجب
 بن نابت بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم خليل الرحمن بن تارح و هو ازر
 بن ناحور بن ساروج بن راعو بن فالج بن عيبر بن صالح بن ارفخشذ
 بن سام ابن نوح

ART. IV.—*On the Magar Language of Nepal.* By JOHN
BEAMES, Esq., B.C.S.

[Read Nov. 16, 1868.]

My attention had been for a long time directed to the immense mass of languages spoken in the Himalayas, when in 1866 I was appointed to the charge of the district of Champaran. This district lies at the foot of the hills, and its frontier is conterminous with that of Nepal for about a hundred miles. Through the kindness of Colonel G. Ramsay, Resident at the Court of Káthmándu I obtained from Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadoor, the *de facto* ruler of that country, two Magar soldiers, men of intelligence, and who spoke their native dialect with great purity. At the same time I accidentally took into my service two Gorkhális (Anglicè—Goor-khas) or Rajputs of the dominating or Khas¹ race of Nepal. These men remained with me during several months of the cold season. We worked hard some hours each day, and I was getting on fairly with my task, when they suddenly, like all hill-men, got restless, and insisted on going back to their homes. The weather was getting warm (it was the first week in April), and I could not fairly detain them. Unfortunately I had only got as far as F in my dictionary. I had of course many words for the rest, but I had been going over it a second time, filling up gaps, and had made it pretty complete for the first six letters. However, I think enough has

¹ I take this opportunity of recording my entire disbelief in the Hon. G. Campbell and Mr. Hyde Clarke's fantastic idea that the term Khás as applied to themselves by this Hindu race has anything whatever to do with *Kasyapa*, *Kashmir*, the *Caucasus*, or any primitive Aryan word at all. It is a pure Arabic word *خاص* which, ever since the days of the first Muhammedan land-settlement of India, has been the regular technical word for "special, principal, select." How many hundreds of villages are there in India which have this word affixed to them, to distinguish them from places of similar name, but less importance? The Nepalese justly arrogate to themselves, by the use of this word, the first rank among the many tribes of the country. They are the "royal race," *par-excellence*.

been recorded to form a fair basis of operations for any philologist who may hereafter wish to go into the subject of the Himalayan languages; and as very little has been recorded about the Magar by Mr. B. Hodgson, I trust I am filling up a gap in a way that may be useful. I have also been enabled to correct several inaccuracies in Mr. Hodgson's short list of Magar words (Selections from Records of Govt. Bengal, No. xxvii.), some of which I shall point out further on.

The Magars are one of the tribes who inhabit the central part of Nepal, as distinguished from the tribes of the Terai on the one hand, and those of the higher altitudes, such as Murmis and Gurungs, on the other.

The whole mass of the Himalayas is adjacent to Hindustani on the south and Tibetan on the north; consequently we find traces of Hindustani influence more clear in the languages of the lower levels, while Tibetan influence predominates in the higher. Hindustani, moreover, has pitched a camp in the very heart of the country in the shape of the Goorkha sovereignty, so that even in the higher levels its sway is found to counterpoise and sometimes outweigh that of Tibetan. The latter, on the other hand, has beyond the limits of the Goorkha rule, as in Sikkim and Bhotan, a preponderating influence almost right down to the plains. But from the Singhaleela range eastwards (*i.e.* for two-thirds of the whole length of the mountains) this is lost, because where Nepal leaves off British territory begins and carries us on to Cashmere; and the inhabitants of Garhwál, Kamáon, and the British hill possessions generally, are Hindus to a man in religion, and, to a great extent, in race.

Upon the whole, then, Hindustani exercises a more powerful influence at the present day on the hill languages of Nepal than Tibetan does: but this state of things is of recent date. There was a time when all the hill tribes were Buddhists, and their languages dialects of Tibetan. Consequently the groundwork of most of them is Tibetan in character still, but so much has been borrowed from Hindi that the groundwork is often hidden out of sight, often distorted and corrupted. This is pre-eminently the case with Magar.

The Magars now live in the central part of Nepal ; their most eastern village Tānnang being 40 miles west of the capital Kāthmāndu. Their settlements, the chief of which are Rishing, Giring, Birkot, Dhor, and Lamzhang, stretch as far west as the town of Palpa. Beyond that there are Magars to be found, but their dialect is said to be corrupt and almost unintelligible to the eastern section of the tribe. My informants estimated their number at about 6,000 fighting men, which, adding a fair proportion of women and children, might give from 18 to 20,000 as the total of the population. This estimate, I suspect, is rather over than under the mark. There are so many tribes in Nepal besides the Khas, and the country is on the whole so thinly peopled, that none of the tribes can be very numerous. The hill women, though robust, are not as a rule remarkable for fecundity, and the increase of population is further checked by the strong tendency of the males for foreign service. These semi-Tibetan tribes are gradually decreasing, and it is the fact of their decrease alone that explains the existence of their numerous subdivisions into clans and septs, each of which sometimes contains only a few families. This often surprises travellers and others, but the fact is, the septs have dwindled to their present scanty numbers from much larger beginnings.

The Magars are divided into three great clans, called Thapa, Alaya, and Rana,¹ and each of these again into many septs, which it is not necessary to particularize. They are, at present, rigid Hindus, and the Thapas call themselves Rajputs. Indeed, the two men who came to me gravely told me that their ancestor was a younger brother of the last Rajput king of Chitor, who, on the fall of that famous fortress, had taken refuge in Nepal ! I did not ask him how his ancestor managed to reach Nepal through the territory of his deadly foe, but I noticed that neither my Goorkha Rajputs, nor a Bhojpur Rajput from Arrah (Kunwar Singh's clan), nor a hill Rajput from the Western Himalayas (a Doghra of Kulu), all of whom were in my service at the time, would eat with

¹ Both my interpreters were Thapas. I only know of the other two clans from Mr. Hodgson's note, above quoted.

the Magars, or acknowledge them to be of pure caste. In fact, the appearance of the men themselves put their Mongolian origin beyond a doubt. Small, robust men, about five feet in height, with great girth of chest, small pig-eyes, high cheek-bones, scanty moustache and beard, huge mis-shapen mouth, always distended with a good-humoured but rather meaningless grin,—they carried their origin written in every limb and feature. There is no doubt whatever that they originally lived much farther to the east than they now do. Their habitat was probably Sikkim or Western Bhotan, and they were heathens, as many of the tribes still are. They may have had a slight leaven of Buddhism, but it was in all probability very slight, and readily yielded to Brahmanical influence when the Goorkha pressure was brought to bear on them. They call themselves Rajputs because they belong to that class of the tribes from which the Nepalese army is now recruited, and in which they take high rank along with the Gurungs, next to the pure Goorkhas. The bulk of the male population is at present in Jung Bahadoor's army, though their original occupations were pastoral and slightly (but only slightly) agricultural. Like the other tribes, they by no means exclusively occupy the tract of country in which their villages lie; in travelling in those regions, one meets a Magar village, and, a little further on, one of Dorhis or Dunwars, and, again, a Newar village, and so on. It is not wonderful, under these circumstances, that their language should be dying out, especially when it is taken into consideration that the majority of the men are permanently absent from their homes on military service, the exigencies of which render it imperative on them to speak the Parbatia or Khás Nepalese (a purely Hindi dialect) as well as their native tongue. I am afraid they are rather ashamed of their language; in the capital they are, of course, anxious to avoid exhibiting traces of rusticity, and only use Magar among themselves. The haughty Goorkha calls all the hill languages, except his own, by the opprobrious epithet of *बेहरी* or "dirty." Here and there, in the following pages, I have noted the chief words of Tibetan origin to be found in Magar; but it may be useful to make some general pre-

liminary remarks, to shew to some extent the results of Hindi influence, and the deviations from the pure Tibetan. The results of an examination of the language are curious and, to some extent, novel; but I do not wish to be understood as affirming anything on this head positively. I merely suggest for the consideration of scholars, and shall be glad if my suggestions be considered as pointing in the right direction.

Words in Magar may be divided into five classes:—

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Pure Hindi. | 3. Arabic and Persian. |
| 2. Corrupted Hindi. | 4. Pure Tibetan. |
| 5. Corrupted Tibetan. | |

Of classes 1 and 3 there is no need to say anything; the Arabic and Persian words are merely such as are in use in Urdu, and have been adopted in Hindi for want of a good indigenous equivalent.

With regard to class 2, it may be remarked that the corruptions are the same as those which occur in Parbatia or court Nepalese, which is a dialect of Hindi almost identical with Bhojpuri; seeing that the founder of the present dynasty emigrated with his clan from Simraun in Tirhut in 1322 A.D. Examples will be found in the vocabulary.

Classes 4 and 5, or those of pure and corrupted Tibetan words, require further investigation. It is well known that written Tibetan differs from the modern spoken language by having a number of letters which are not pronounced, very much as in French; there is, however, this difference, that it is in many cases difficult to see how some of the combinations in Tibetan could ever have been pronounced at all. Letters of different organs are found without the intervention of a vowel at the beginning of words and in situations where the European tongue is almost unable to utter them. That this is no reason why Tibetan tongues should not be able to pronounce them, I am well aware. We find such combinations in the Hamitic family as *gb*, for instance, where the *b* is clearly enunciated with a scarcely detected soupçon of a *g* preceding it; and it is in this way that the learned Lamas in some parts of Tibet still read their sacred books. In those Tibetan monasteries which I have visited, I did not find this the case, and the mass

of the people entirely ignore these combinations. Mr. Jaeschke has given to the world some valuable notes on the subject of the pronunciation of modern Tibetan in various provinces, which lead to the hypothesis that the deviations from the classical Tibetan standard observable in the Himalayan dialects may be traced to various provinces of Tibet, and may thus aid us to find out the original homes of the tribes now domiciled in Nepal. To apply this idea to the case of the Magars is not altogether easy. There are many words which agree exactly with Tibetan, *e.g.*

MAGAR.	ENGLISH.	TIBETAN.
1. <i>Lam</i>	A road	<i>Lam</i> .
2. <i>Lag</i>	Hand (side)	<i>Lag</i> .
3. <i>Su</i>	Who?	<i>Su</i> .
4. <i>Ra (rha)</i>	Goat	<i>Ra</i> .
5. <i>Shig</i>	Louse	<i>Shig</i> .
6. <i>Shi</i>	Die	<i>Shi</i> .
7. <i>Shing</i>	Tree	<i>Shing</i> .
8. <i>Birin</i>	Send	(<i>S</i>)bring.
9. <i>Nis</i>	Two	(<i>G</i>)nyis.
10. <i>Ros</i>	Bone	<i>Rus</i> .
11. (<i>Bhur</i>) <i>mi</i> ¹	Man	<i>Mi</i> .
12. <i>Mhen</i>	Fire	<i>Me</i> .
13. <i>Mik</i>	Eye	<i>Mig</i> .
14. <i>Ro</i>	Love	<i>Ro</i> .

There is nothing in the form which these words take in Magar to shew whether they belong to the eastern or western part of Tibet.

Another class of words exhibits a certain likeness to Tibetan, but with changes for which, as there is no analogy, so it may be doubted if there is any proof. I give the following list therefore merely conjecturally:—

MAGAR.	ENGLISH.	TIBETAN.
1. <i>Chü</i>	Dog	<i>Khyi</i> , pronounced <i>chhi</i> .
2. <i>Dngá</i>	See	(<i>M</i>)thong.
3. <i>Gará</i>	Ant	<i>Gro</i> '.

¹ The prefix *mi* found with all words referring to parts of the human body is the Tibetan word for 'man.' Hodgson is in error in treating it as a radical.

	MAGAR.	ENGLISH.	TIBETAN.
4.	<i>Biri</i>	Fear	<i>Bré'</i> .
5.	<i>Kharak</i> ...	Be ashamed ...	<i>Khre'</i> .
6.	<i>Tuk</i>	Belly.....	(<i>L</i>)to (cf. (<i>l</i>)tog, hunger).
7.	<i>Mya</i>	Arrow	<i>Mdâ</i> .
8.	<i>Chya</i>	Tie	<i>Ching</i> .
9.	<i>Cho</i>	Cut	<i>Cho'</i> .
10.	<i>Im</i>	House	<i>Khyim</i> , pron. <i>chhim</i> .
11.	<i>Gwha</i>	Bird	<i>Wya</i> , pron. <i>wa</i> .
12.	<i>Armin</i>	Name	<i>Ming</i> .
13.	<i>Arkin</i>	Nail	<i>Sen</i> .
14.	<i>Tsup</i>	Suck	<i>Jib</i> .
15.	<i>Tang</i>	Spread	<i>Thing</i> and (<i>l</i>)ding.
16.	<i>Gin</i>	Heart	<i>Nying</i> .
17.	<i>Chini</i>	To-day	Mag. <i>chü</i> , with r. <i>nyi</i> , day.
18.	<i>Mhut</i>	Blow.....	<i>Bud</i> .

Both these lists may be largely augmented, especially the second, which I have adopted in the vocabulary, where more examples may be found.

When we seek to account for the deviation of Magar forms from those of classical Tibetan, by a reference to the pronunciation of Eastern Tibet, from which part there is good reason to assume that the Magars (like the Limbus) originally came, we are met by the difficulty that this tribe must have left Tibet certainly before 1300 A.D., as after the arrival of the Goorkhas in Nepal, the incessant wars which were waged in the hills would have been very unfavourable to, if not entirely prohibitive of, the penetration of a feeble clan so far into the heart of the country. But, from the researches of Jaeschke and others, it is almost certain that the ancient pronunciation remained in force all through Tibet up to a late date. From my own travels in Sikkim, I know that the chief—and, I believe, only—route northwards from that country debouches close to Lhasa itself, a place which, from its political importance, would have retained (presumably) a pure pronunciation longer than any other place in those eastern provinces. The Magars then, in all probability, had left their original homes before the pronunciation of Ü-Tsang (the province of which Lhasa

is the capital) and Kham had declined in any marked degree from the classical standard, and it would therefore be vain to look for many signs of eastern influence in the Tibetan words which they have retained. Some few, however, I think, may be detected, and these I now notice.

1. "I" in Magar is not only *ngu* (Tibetan *nga*), but *ngoï*, which is the Eastern pronunciation of the (Western) Tibetan *ngos*. A similar process is, perhaps, traceable in the root *lo* or *loi*, 'to bring,' from the Tibetan *nyos*, where we see also a transition from *n* to *l*. This transition is also shown in the roots *lo* or *lho*, 'to throw,' Tibetan, *tho'*; *hang*, 'a stone,' Tibetan, *do'*; *lhak*, 'to lick,' Tibetan, *dag*; where the dental element of the Tibetan passes into *l* in Magar.

2. Final *g*, *d*, *b*, are in East Tibet so indistinctly pronounced as to be scarcely audible. So in Magar we have *la*, 'side, direction,' in *kula*, 'where,' in which the final *g* is audible only before a vowel, from Tibetan *lag*; other instances are *biri* from *bred*, 'fear,' *gará* from *grog*, 'ant,' *cho* from *chod*, 'cut,' etc. On the other hand, however, there are instances of the retention of the final letter, where it exists in Tibetan; and Hodgson, whose vocabulary appears to have been derived from a Magar from the country west of Palpa, where the dialect is in all probability older than the present standard Magar, retains these letters in some cases where my authorities omitted them.

3. As both final *s* is softened into *i*, and final *g* is unheard, in Eastern Tibet, we may derive the Magar word *le*, 'to exist,' 'to be,' from the Tibetan *lags*, which by the processes above noted would become *la'i*, and finally *le*.¹

In the vocabulary will be found a considerable number of Tibetan etymologies; but it would seem that there is a large quantity of words which can be referred neither to Tibetan nor Hindi. It would be an interesting enquiry whether these words—this, so to speak, insoluble residuum—have any affinities with the languages of the neighbouring Himalayan tribes,

¹ According to Jaeschke (Tib. Gr. p. 28, § 39), this word is only used in "respectful and elegant speech," except in Eastern Tibet (and especially the province of Ü, where Lhasa is situated); where it sounds *lā-pa*.

and if so, to what source they are to be attributed. There are not wanting indications, though they are rather slight, of a connection with the Lohitic or Burmese class, as *e.g.*, the word *kat*, 'one,' which is identical with the Lepcha, and very similar to the Burmese, also the pronoun of the second person, *nang*, which is the same in the Boro or Mechi language. It is not my intention to follow out this comparison in the present paper, because I have been led by circumstances to doubt the accuracy of the printed vocabularies of Himalayan tribes, and hope to have an opportunity of making collections myself direct from the mouths of natives; till then I make no comments.

It may, however, be worth while to notice the construction and inflections of the Magar in reference both to Tibetan and Hindi.

We should expect to find the grammar almost pure Tibetan, because the language is undoubtedly of Himalayan origin; and this expectation is fairly carried out, though of course the sharpness of type which is observable in Hundesi and trans-Himalayan languages cannot be looked for here.¹

Thus we have the noun ordinarily monosyllabic, and occasionally bearing the Tibetan affixes of gender, *ba* (or *wa*) and *po*, masculine; and *ma*, *mo*, feminine. The declension is effected by added particles, as in Tibetan, though most of the particles used bear not the slightest resemblance to the corresponding Tibetan ones; they agree, however, here and there, with those used in other Himalayan languages, and some are borrowed from Nepalese and Parbatia, *e.g.*—

2. ²	<i>o</i>	Milchán	<i>o</i> .
3.	<i>ke</i>	Nepalese	के (<i>hod</i> कन्). ³
4.	<i>ang</i>	Milchán	<i>ang</i> .
7.	<i>laki</i>	Tibetan	<i>lag</i> .
10.	<i>i</i>	perhaps Tibetan	<i>hi'</i> or <i>i'</i> —etc.

¹ The Magars are well aware of the fact that their language deviates much from the "Bhot," (as Tibetan is called in the hills), and even go so far as to use this fact as an argument in favour of their alleged Rajput descent. They tell me that their immediate neighbours, the Gurungs, speak a language far more like "Bhot" than they do.

² These numbers refer to those in sec. 2, § 1.

³ But still *ke* in Tirhut and Purneah Hindi.

Sáthang is clearly the Hindi or Nepalese साथ with the Magar affix *ang*, and is thus equivalent to, "in company with."

The pronoun is highly irregular, as is the case in most languages, and offers a minimum of coincidences with any other language. That of the third person seems to be an Aryan word tortured into compliance with Turanian rules.

In the verb again, we see monosyllabic roots with affixes, as in Tibetan. The infinitive is curious, inasmuch as it follows the Tibetan system with Nepalese materials; the verb, or verbal root in the former language, is treated as a noun, and takes accordingly the nominal affix of gender *pa* and *ba*; to form the infinitive the particle *r* is added, which is also a sign of the dative in nouns. Similarly, in Magar, we have the verbal root in the dative case used as an infinitive, but the sign for the dative is the Aryan one *ने*; as in *zatke*, 'to do,' etc.

The various affixes used to express modifications of time are not traceable, as far as I can see at present, to any corresponding form in Tibetan, except the *le* of the present, which is the *la'i*, as mentioned above.

Perhaps also the termination *nü* of the past part., may be referred to the *nai* of the Tibetan past part., which is the same as the sign of the ablative case of the noun.

But the ending of the past tense in *á* and that of the imperative in *o*, look like Hindi forms, and the idea of a respectful imperative, with its characteristic *i*, is also traceable to the same source; whence also they derive the idea of using the instrumental in lieu of the nominative with a past tense; for the instrumental, though existing in Tibetan, is not so used.

Tibetan, however, in idea, is the habit of prefixing *mi* ('man') to words denoting parts of the human body, as *mitahu*, etc. We find also a list of words beginning with *ar*, a prefix which has apparently no relations in Tibetan. These words, if we leave out the *ar*, agree generally with the corresponding Tibetan words.

Hindi again is the form of construction with the past participle in connection with an auxiliary verb, meaning 'to give,'

'to place,' etc. *E.g.* *chikke* alone is 'to expel,' but the Magars are fond of using *chikkñü zake*, which is similar to the Hindi habit of using *nikál dená* for *nikálná*, and is equally useless and inconvenient in both languages. In the grammar, I have noticed a good many of these instances of borrowing methods of expression from Hindi.

To sum up these brief introductory remarks, it results from what has been said that the Magar is a language of the Tibetan family, and that the race who speak it probably came originally from the neighbourhood of Lhasa, in Eastern Tibet. Falling under Goorkha influence as they advanced westwards, they added to their vocabulary a large number of Hindi words, and some inflections, so that we have Tibetan grammatical ideas carried out with both Tibetan and Aryan materials, as well as Hindi grammatical ideas carried out with Aryan and Tibetan materials. The language thus presents a spectacle almost unique, and in distinct contradiction to the generally admitted proposition—that, though one language often borrows largely from another, yet these borrowings are confined to words, and never extend to grammatical forms.

II.—SECTION 1. SOUNDS.

The sounds of the Magar are as follows :—

I. VOWELS.

अ *a*,¹ आ *á*, इ *i*, ई *í*, उ *u*, ऊ *ú*, ए *e*, ओ *o*.

There are, besides, three vowel sounds of a Mongolian nature which cannot be expressed by Sanskrit letters: these are, *ai*, *oi*, *ü*. The first of these is longer than the Sanskrit ऐ, and is almost two syllables. The second, *oi*, is like the German *ö* in *Göthe*, but broader, and half-way between that and the German *eu* in *feuer*. The third, *ü*, is a very acute short sound, and at the end of words, where it chiefly occurs, is hardly to be distinguished from *i* or *e*, thus resembling the German *ü* in *müde*. These three sounds do not exist in Tibetan, as far as I

¹ I give the Sanskrit characters as a key to the pronunciation, as far as they go.

am aware, but they are found in Lepcha, Murmi, and other hill languages.

II. CONSONANTS.

क <i>k</i>	ख <i>kh</i>	ग <i>g</i>	घ <i>gh</i>	— <i>ng</i> ^(a)
च <i>ch</i>	छ <i>chh</i>	ज <i>j</i>	झ <i>jh</i>	— <i>ny</i> ^(b)
त <i>t</i>	थ <i>th</i>	द <i>d</i>	ध <i>dh</i>	न <i>n</i>
ट <i>ṭ</i>	ठ <i>ṭh</i>	ड <i>ḍ</i>	ढ <i>ḍh</i>	
— <i>ts</i> ^(c)	— <i>tz</i>	— <i>ds</i>		
प <i>p</i>	फ <i>ph</i>	ब <i>b</i>	भ <i>bh</i>	म <i>m</i>
ह <i>h</i>	— <i>h</i> ^(d)	स <i>s</i>		श <i>sh</i>
र <i>r</i>	ल <i>l</i>	य <i>y</i>	— <i>z</i> ^(e)	— <i>wh</i> ^(f)

Remarks.—(a). This letter is the same as the Tibetan ཁ *ng*. It is with difficulty pronounced by a foreigner when it occurs, as is frequently the case, at the beginning of a word. It is precisely the same sound as the *ng* in the end of the present participle of verbs in English, as *going*, *singing*.

(b). This is the Tibetan རྩ *ny*, “prononcé comme dans le mot français *ignare*,”¹ or as the Spanish *ñ* in *Señor*.

(c). These three sounds are of Tibetan origin, and correspond to *ts*, *tz*, and *ds*.

(d). The Tibetan འ, a softer sound than ह, so soft as only to be audible when pronounced slowly. *Yoho*, ‘give,’ in ordinary conversation sounds almost like *yo* or *yo-o*.

(e). The Tibetan ས, English *z*.

(f). Tibetan སྤ, exactly like the English *wh* in *which*, *why*, as it is pronounced by Irishmen, as though spelt *hwich*: it is difficult to decide whether this sound is *wh* or *hw*.

The soft or Tibetan *h* is often found in combination with *m* or *l*, as *mhen*, ‘fire,’ *bhang*, ‘a stone,’ where it is again difficult to say whether the *l* or the *h* precedes.

When a Magar gets excited, and talks loud or with vehemence, he aspirates nearly every letter in the alphabet. Thus ‘I see,’ is *dāngone*, but ‘I see! I see!’ sounds more like *dhānghonhe*.

The medial aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *bh*, *jh*, only occur in words of Hindi origin. There are no medial aspirates in Tibetan.

The cerebral letters do not often occur except in Hindi

¹ Foucaux, *Grammaire Tibétaine*, p. 3.

words used in Magar. In indigenous words the hard *ḍ* (ፍ) is pronounced almost like an *r*. Indeed, even the dentals in Magar are like the same class in English, consequently harsher than those in Hindi.

The letters *h* and *g* are pronounced so much alike as at times hardly to be distinguishable one from the other. So also *p* and *b*. This is a Tibetan characteristic.¹

The distinction between long and short vowels is only clearly marked in words of Hindi origin. In pure Magar words there is very little distinction. The language in this respect also follows the usage of Tibetan.

There are no peculiarities of accent beyond a slight drawl at the end of a sentence. The pronunciation is level and even, though somewhat indistinct, the words short and simple, and the general effect of the language on the ear is soft and musical.

SECTION 2. THE NOUN.

§ 1. The noun has no inflections. Cases are formed by the addition to the word of syllables, in the same manner as the Hindi *kā*, *ke*, *kī*, etc. The following is a list of the most usual post-positions, showing how they are added to a noun:—

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Im</i> | a house. |
| 2. <i>Im-o</i> | of a house. |
| 3. <i>Im-ke</i> | to a house. |
| 4. <i>Im-ang</i> | in a house, <i>also</i> on a house. |
| 5. <i>Im-ing</i> | from a house, <i>or</i> out of a house. |
| 6. <i>Im-taking</i> , | upon a house. |
| 7. <i>Im-lāki</i> | from a house. |
| 8. <i>Im-khāta</i> | with <i>or</i> near a house. |
| 9. <i>Im-sāthang</i> | with a house, |
| 10. <i>Im-i</i> | by a house. |
| 11. <i>Im-mhoīking</i> | under a house. |

Remarks.—1. The objective case is designated either by the affix *ke*, or by the absence of any affix at all. In other words, the verb in some cases governs a dative, in which case

¹ Foucaux, *Gram. Tibet.* p. 3, l. 12, and p. 8, para. c.

ke is added to the noun, in some cases an accusative, in which case the noun has no affix. Instances are—

Ngáke dhusá he pushed me (*lit.* to me).
Ise shing chio cut that wood.

2. Where two nouns follow each other, the genitive sign of the first is omitted, if a close connection exists between them. This is equivalent to forming a compound noun.¹

Ex.: *Tálu chhám.*

The hair of the head: (*lit.*: the head-hair).

3. The affix *lúki* is pronounced also *lágé* and *lág*.

4. The affix *i* is the sign of the instrumental, and is used before the past tense of a transitive verb, as in Hindi *ne*.

Ex.: *Su-i yáhá?* *Kis-ne diyá.*

Also as a pure instrumental—

Ex.: *Hur-i khoho* with a hoe dig.

In addition to the affixes given above, there are others signifying *behind*, *before*, *above*, etc., but as no change takes place in the noun when these are added, I have not given them here, but in their proper place in the dictionary.

As a rule, no distinction is made between the singular and plural, but if it is necessary to draw particular attention to the fact of plurality, the word *pattá* or *patto*, meaning 'all,' is inserted between the noun itself and the terminations.

Ex.: *bhurmi-patto ke yoho.*

give to the men (*lit.* man-all).

Im-pattá ke hilo.

Count all the houses.

§ 2. There is no gender in Magar nouns. Animals and human beings are distinguished by separate names for the sexes.

Ex.: *bhurmi*, 'a man,' *máhazá*, 'a woman,' *thor*, 'a bull,' *nyet*, 'a cow,' or by the affix '*mán*,' which converts a masculine noun into a feminine.

Ex.: Dog, *chü.*

Bitch, *chümán.*

He-goat, *rhá.*

She-goat, *rhámán.*

Cock, *gwhá.*

Hen, *gwhámán.*²

¹ Like the Sankrit *Tatpurusha*.

² This affix *mán* is probably connected with the Tibetan *mo* affixed to female nouns.

In the case of human beings the words *lenza*, 'male,' and *máhazá*, 'female,' are sometimes used, as *lenzá zá*, 'a male child,' *máhazá zá*, 'a female child.'

§ 3. Adjectives are indeclinable, and precede the substantive.

Ex.: *Karangchü bhurmi*, 'a big man.'

Comparison is effected by the affix *denang*, 'than.' There are no separate signs for the comparative and superlative degrees.

Ex.: *Nga denang ise karangchü le*.

He is bigger than I (*lit.* big than I).

Kánang bai kaupatto denang báto.

Our father is the wisest of us all (*lit.* wise than us all).

In Magar, as in all other languages, when an adjective is used elliptically as an appellative, it takes the case-affixes just the same as a substantive. Thus *lochü* as an adjective just means 'long,' but as a substantive it means 'the long (one),' *i.e.* 'a snake,' and then takes case-affixes.

Ex.: *Lochü ke ngoĩ detaká*, 'I killed a snake.'

Nearly all adjectives end in *chü*. This is also the form taken by the verbal noun, and adjectives may be formed from any verb in the language by adding this particle *chü* to the root; and similarly all adjectives may be made into verbs by dropping the termination *chü* and affixing the usual verbal terminations; thus from *bochü*, 'white,' we may make *bo-le*, *bomone*, etc., meaning 'it is white, it was white,' and so forth. In fact, in most Turanian languages, the monosyllable merely conveys an idea as 'seeing,' 'doing,' and it depends entirely upon the terminations that are added to it, whether it is to be regarded as a noun or verb.

§ 4. Nouns which end with a vowel exhibit slight irregularities when they take the affixes *o*, *i*, *ang*, *ing*.

- (a). In some instances the final *i* of the word changes, as in Sanskrit, into a semi-vowel; as *bhurmi*, 'a man,' *bhurmyo*, 'of a man.'
- (b). Or the initial vowel of the affix is lost altogether, as *thaili*, 'a bag,' *thaili-ng*, 'in a bag,' for *thaili-ang*.
- (c). Or an euphonic letter is inserted, as *sipahi-k-o*, 'of a sepoy.' This is probably borrowed from the Nepalese sign of the genitive को.

- (d). Or the affix is simply added to the word, this is more especially the case in monosyllables, as *suo*, 'of whom?' *sui*, 'by whom?'

There appears to be no certain rule for these changes. My two interpreters sometimes used one form, sometimes the other; and no amount of enquiry could elicit from them any definite rule.

SECTION 3. THE PRONOUN.

The personal pronouns exhibit more of an inflectional character than any other part of the language. The genitive cases especially merit attention.

FIRST PERSON.

Singular.	Nom. I,	<i>ngá, ngachü, ngoi, ngoichü.</i>
	Gen. Of me,	<i>ngo.</i>
	Dat. To me,	} <i>ngáke.</i>
	Acc. Me,	

All other cases are formed precisely as in nouns by adding case affixes to the form *ngá*, as *ngá-láki* 'from me,' *ngá-sáthang*, 'with me.'

Plural.	Nom. We,	<i>kan, kankoï, kankoï.</i>
	Gen. Of us,	<i>kánang, kánun.</i>
	Dat. To us,	} <i>kanke, kankoke.</i>
	Acc. Us,	

SECOND PERSON.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Nom.	Thou, <i>noi, nengi, nang.</i>	Nom.	Ye, <i>náhako.</i>
Gen.	Of thee, <i>nuo nango.</i>	Gen.	Of you, <i>náhakun.</i>
Dat. }	To thee, <i>nengke.</i>	Dat. To you, }	} <i>nahako ke.</i>
Acc. }		Acc. You, }	

Nákun, the respectful pronoun of the second person, corresponds to the Hindustani "Áp" or "Huzúr," and must be distinguished from *náhakun*, the genitive plural of *nang*. It is generally used in the nominative case only, and has no plural.

The third person has three forms, *hose, áse, ise*. Of these *hose* is the ordinary 'he,' 'she,' 'it;' *áse* is used for distant

persons or things; *ise* for things close at hand, *i.e.*, *ise* is 'this,' *áse* is 'that.' The declension is as follows:

SINGULAR.				PLURAL.		
Nom.	<i>hose</i>	<i>ise</i>	<i>áse</i>	Nom.	<i>hosko</i>	<i>isko</i> <i>ásko</i>
Gen.	<i>hochü</i>	<i>ichü</i>	<i>áchü</i>	Gen.	<i>hoskun</i>	<i>iskun</i> <i>áskun</i>
Dat.	} <i>hoske</i>	<i>iske</i>	<i>áske</i>	Dat.	} <i>hoskoke</i>	<i>iskoke</i> <i>askoke</i>
Acc.				Acc.		
	etc.	etc.	etc.		etc.	etc. etc.

The forms *ngoï*, *nangi*, and *hosi* are used as instrumentals before the past tense of a verb, but I have given them as nominatives also, because they are all used before other tenses as well. In fact *ngá*, and *ngoï* seem to be used indifferently in all cases, both before transitive and intransitive verbs.

The demonstrative, interrogative, and relative pronouns will be found in the dictionary. They have no inflection, but take case-affixes in a perfectly regular manner. Those which end in *o* have no distinction between the nominative and genitive cases.

The word *sú*, 'who,' is Tibetan, and forms in the plural *sú-sú*, which is also a Tibetan formation, though in that language it means 'whoever,' 'some.' The declension is as follows:—

SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
N.	<i>sú</i>	who?	<i>su-ko</i> ,	<i>su-patta</i>	<i>sú-sú</i>
G.	<i>sú-o</i>	of whom	<i>su-kun</i>		
D.	} <i>su-ke</i>	to whom	<i>su-e</i>		
Acc.		whom			
Inst.	<i>su-i</i>	by whom	<i>su-su-i</i>		

Kos or *kus*, 'who?' is thus declined—G. *kuso*; D. *kuske* or *kuche*, etc.

In the word *sura* or *suro*, 'any-one,' an inversion sometimes occurs in the accusative singular, *suke-ra* for *sura-ke*.

Great regularity in the type, so to speak, of the pronouns exists in Magar; this betrays the influence of Hindi. I give here a table showing these words. It will be observed that interrogatives commence with *k* or *ku*; demonstratives with *i* for close, and *a* for remote, objects; relatives with *j*. All this is clearly Hindi. Nothing of the kind occurs in Tibetan or its cognate languages, though the use of *i* for proximate, and

a for remote demonstratives is a characteristic of all languages of the Turanian family, and is even observed in Sanskrit and some other Indo-Germanic languages.¹

Some of the words in the following list are properly adverbs, but I insert them here in order to show the mechanism of the language in this respect at one glance.

It will be observed, 1. That some of the expressions are Hindi, either pure or only slightly corrupted; 2. That words of purely Tibetan origin exist side by side with Hindi or semi-Hindi forms.

Pronoun.	Adverb of Place.	Adverb of Quality.	Adverb of Direction.	Pronoun and Adverb of Quantity.	Adverb of Time.
<i>Hose</i> He	<i>Hola</i> There	<i>Hosto</i> Thus	<i>Hote</i> Thence	<i>Horangchü</i> So great	<i>Hose bera</i> Then
<i>Ise</i> This	<i>Ila[g]</i> Here (<i>yahän</i>)	<i>Isto</i> Thus (<i>aisä</i>)	<i>Ite</i> Hence	<i>Irangchü</i> So great (<i>Itä</i>)	<i>Ise bera</i> Now
<i>Ase</i> That	<i>Ala[g]</i> There (<i>wahän</i>)	<i>Asto</i> Thus (<i>waissä</i>)	<i>Ate</i> Thence	<i>Arangchü</i> So great (<i>Utä</i>)	<i>Ase bera</i> Then
<i>Kos</i> Who? (also <i>Su</i>)	<i>Kula[g]</i> Where? (<i>kahän</i>)	<i>Kosto</i> How? (<i>kaisä</i>)	<i>Kute</i> Whence?	<i>Kurangchü</i> How great?	(<i>Shen</i>) When?
<i>Jos[äzoJe-su]</i> Who ever (<i>jo koi</i>)	<i>deest</i>	<i>Josto</i> As (<i>jaisä</i>) <i>Tosto</i> So (<i>taisä</i>)	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>Jas bera</i> When ever

NOTE.—For further remarks see the section on Adverbs.

SECTION 4. THE NUMERALS.

The Magar language possesses numerals only up to five; from five onwards counting is carried on in Hindi.

The numerals are—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------|
| 1. <i>kat</i> | } Magar. |
| 2. <i>nis</i> | |
| 3. <i>som</i> | |
| 4. <i>buli</i> | |
| 5. <i>banga</i> | |
| 6. <i>chha</i> | } Hindi. |
| 7. <i>sat</i> | |
| etc. | |

¹ See on this subject Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, p. 338 et seqq.

The first five numerals are of Tibetan or Himalayan origin, and are connected with the numerals in Tibetan,¹ and all the hill languages as far as Assam and the Burmese frontier.

In the phrase *kah-ek*, 'one day,' the final *t* of *kat* has been changed into *h*. In the form *kangles*, 'one year,' the *t* is further modified into *ng*. The ordinals are the same as Hindi, even for those numbers whose cardinals are Magar pure; but it must be remarked that ordinals are seldom, if ever, used.

SECTION 5. THE VERB.

§ 1. The verb is as destitute of inflections as the noun, but possesses a sufficiency of machinery for expressing times, moods, and all other phases of action. This machinery consists, as in the noun, of appended syllables. The roots of all verbs are monosyllables. Where exceptions occur to this rule, they are only so in appearance, and spring from corruptions or contractions, (sometimes very difficult to explain,) of two or more monosyllabic roots.

I have endeavoured to arrange the various forms of the verb below; but it must be premised that the Magars themselves are very inaccurate and loose in their employment of these forms. The remarks below will elucidate this point more fully.

§ 2. The verb falls into conjugations, according as the root terminates with a consonant or a vowel.

1ST CONJUGATION.

	<i>Rákh-ke.</i>	
	'To bring.'	
Infinitive	<i>Rákh-ke</i>	'to bring.'
Present	<i>Rákh-le.</i>	
Do.	<i>Rákh-lang.</i>	
Aorist	<i>Rákh-o-ne.</i>	
Preterite	<i>Rákh-á.</i>	
Future	<i>Á-rákh-e.</i>	
Imperative	<i>Rákh-o.</i>	
Do.	<i>Rákh-ná.</i>	
Do. (respectful)	<i>Rákh-ni.</i>	
Past participle	<i>Rákh-nü.</i>	
Verbal noun	<i>Rákh-chü.</i>	

2ND CONJUGATION.

<i>Yá-ke.</i>
'To give.'
<i>Yá-ke</i> 'to give.'
<i>Yá-le.</i>
<i>Yá-lang.</i>
<i>Yá-mo-ne.</i>
<i>Yá-h-á.</i>
<i>Á-[yá]-h-e² (á-he.)</i>
<i>Yó-h-o.</i>
Wanting.
<i>Yá-ni.</i>
<i>Yá-mü</i> or <i>mo.</i>
<i>Yá-chü</i>

¹ See these words in the Vocabulary.

² This form is not used with words beginning with the vowel *á*.

§ 3. *Remarks*.—1. The forms of the present in *le* and *lang* are used to denote future action which is to take place immediately, exactly like our English phrase 'I am going,' which, though present in form, is future in sense.

Ex. : *Nangke sát nang* (for *-lang*).

'I will beat you' (i.e. immediately).

2. *Lang* is often pronounced *nang*, as in *sát nang* above.

3. *Le* in *rákh-le* is the root of the verb *le-ke*, 'to be;' *lang* is probably a contraction of *le-ang* = being-in.¹ Thus *rákh-le* would mean 'bringing-am,' and *rákh-lang*, 'bringing-am-in,' or 'I am in (the act of) bringing,' which accounts for its being used as an immediate future, as well as a present, tense.

4. The affix *le* is sometimes omitted, especially in short, abrupt sentences. Ex. : *jaï ki ma jaï*, 'will you eat, or not?' which is for *jyá-le* (*jaï-le*) from *jyáke*, 'to eat' (pronounced *jaïke*).

5. I have called the form in *-one* the aorist because its time is indefinite. It is used with reference to past, present, or future occurrences. It appears to have sprung from the indefinite past participle in *nü* or *mo* with *le* added and changed into *ne*, a change of which other instances are found. It would thus be equivalent to 'I have done,' as in *yámone*, which would be *yámo* = having given, *le* = I am, 'I am having given,' or 'I have given.' In the first conjugation *rákhone* would be for *rákh[n]ü-ne*, the *n* being slurred over or elided, and the short *ü* changed into an obscure *o*. The following sentences will explain the nature and use of this form:—

Past. *Chini hose hira má jaï mone.*

To-day he has eaten nothing.

Future. *Nungchü dangone.*

I will go and see (lit. going I will see.).

Present. *Nákun kulág ngumone.*

Where do you live?

¹ The affix *ang* is sometimes added without the *l* to express present time, as *pasang*, 'it happens,' for *pas-lang*.

6. The form of the imperative in *ni* is used when addressing a superior, and is similar to the Hindi *-iye* in *baithiye*, *aiye*, 'be pleased to sit,' etc.

7. All verbs of the second conjugation, whose roots end in *á* change the vowel of the root into *o* in the imperative, and insert a soft *h* between that and the vowel of the affix, as *ya-ke yo-ho*, *ga-ke go-ho*. This *h* can only be heard when a person speaks very distinctly, otherwise the imperative sounds like one syllable, *yo*, *go*.

8. The past participle is similar in use to the Hindi participle in *kar* or *karke*.

Ex.: *Jaïmo nungná*, 'having eaten, go.'

Hindi: *Khá karke jáo*.

It is much used in forming compound verbs, the latter element of which is formed by *yáke*, 'to give,' *tohke* or *toke*, 'to place,' and other verbs.

Ex.: *Dasnü yáke*, 'to abandon.'

Word for word Hindi *chhor dená*.

Tag dimo ngapke, 'to take aim.'

Word for word Hindi *nishána karke márná*.

The words most frequently used to form compounds are—

<i>yáke</i>	to give.	<i>rahke</i>	to come.
<i>tohke</i>	to place.	<i>nungke</i>	to go.
<i>nguke</i>	to sit, remain.	<i>rákhke</i>	to bring.
<i>kahke</i>	to put.	<i>álhke</i>	to take away, etc.

These all take the preceding verb in the past participle.

Ex.: *Bherdimó toho*.

Fold up (*lit.* having folded put).

9. The form in *chü* like that in *one* is used in a very vague manner. I apprehend that it is originally and properly the present participle and corresponds to the Hindi *walla*. In Tibetan *hgyúr* (pronounced *chhur*) means 'to become,' and it is possible that this verb, which is used as an auxiliary in that language, may be the origin of the affix *chü*. It is notable that this syllable is found at the end of a large majority of adjectives, and that such especially as take their primary

idea from actions are derived from verbs by adding *chü* to the root. Thus from

<i>Hekle</i>	to be able	comes	<i>hekehü</i>	able.
<i>Jäike</i>	to eat	„	<i>jaichü</i>	eatable.
<i>Gäke</i>	to drink	„	<i>gächü</i>	drinkable.
	etc.		etc.	

I have therefore called this form a verbal noun. It is used with reference to past, present, and future time, and in every variety of mood. A few examples will explain its use more readily than a long dissertation.

1. *Hose dhut tsanchü, kurek din tsaná.*

How long ago was it?

Here *tsanchü* is the verbal noun of *tsánke*, 'to become,' 'to happen,' and the sentence therefore is literally, 'that affair happening' (*hone se*), or 'having happened how many days have been?'

2. *Dánra pári lági rákchü kángles.*

They came formerly from beyond the hills.

Rákchü here strictly means '[they are people] coming,' or 'comers,' or 'who came,' just like the Hindi *ánewálá*.

3. *Kuchi birinchü ale?* 'who sent it?'

Kuchi = instrumental case of *kos*, 'who,' *ale*, future of *leke*, 'to be,' used in the sense of 'may be.' I should translate this, either 'who may be the sender?' (in which case *birinchü* would be an active participle, and *kuchi* used irregularly for the nominative *kos*, just as *ngoï*, which is really an instrumental, is often used for a nominative); or 'by whom may it be sent?' where *birinchü* would be used passively. In connection with this interpretation, observe the remarks on the formation of the passive voice in the next paragraph. I incline more to the first of these two interpretations; the difficulty about *kuchi* is explained by a reference to Hindi. The influence of this language is so marked in Magar, that it may fairly be assumed that in trying to imitate the somewhat intricate use of the instrumental as a nominative in the Hindi *ne*, in such phrases as *usne dekhá*, 'he saw,' the Magars have fallen into the error so commonly perpetrated by the

lower classes of Hindustanis, of using the instrumental out of place. As is well known, an ignorant Hindustani, in trying to talk classically, will often commit such an error as *ham ne dekhtá hai*, or *ham ne baiṭhá*. It may be pardoned to the simple Magars to have erred, where even their models are not always correct; and this interpretation preserves to the form in *chü* its usual and appropriate active sense.

10. The passive voice is not often used in Magar, it may be doubted if it really exists. The idea of a passive is a somewhat artificial one, and not necessarily inherent in the scheme of any language. It can scarcely be said to exist in Tibetan, or in Hindi, the two languages which are, so to speak, the parents of Magar. In both these languages a periphrasis, more or less arbitrary, is employed. The idea 'I was beaten,' is simply and quite as fully expressed by, 'he has beaten me.'

Má nungas dereng, nangke detachü le.

If you do not go, you will be punished.

Here the object is in the accusative case, and the verb is active, literally 'thee beating is,' *i.e.*, 'some one is (or will be) beating thee.'

This is one way of expressing the passive; another is—

Ite má ḍangle, 'it cannot be seen from here.'

Literally 'hence not sees,' *i.e.*, 'one does not see (it) from here.'

A third method is in imitation of the Hindi—

Kos ke bhira nunga, 'who was sent?'

This is word for word the Hindi *kisko bhejá gayá*, *i.e.*, the active preterite compounded with the verb *nungna*, 'to go,' literally 'who sent went.' Both in Hindi and in Magar the person is often placed in the accusative, where logically the nominative should occur.

The verb *ngunke*, 'to sit,' is also used in forming the passive. *Detaká nguá*, 'he was beaten,' literally, 'he sat beaten.'

Inasmuch, then, as there is no separate form appropriated to the expression of the passive, we are justified in saying that no passive exists in the language. A Magar will twist the

passive sentence round till he expresses the idea, looking at it from the opposite point of view, by an active verb; and if this cannot be done, will express the idea by one or other of the above periphrases or compromises.

11. Reciprocal, causal, and other forms of verbs found in cultivated languages, do not exist in this rude dialect. Nor are there any traces of a subjunctive, or potential, or optative mood. The list of verbal forms given above, comprises, it is believed, every verbal variation in the language. The subjunctive is expressed simply by the indicative or primary form, sometimes with the addition of the word *dereng* (or *delen*, or *delek*), which apparently means 'then.'

12. The potential is resolved into two words—'I may go,' becomes 'I to go am able.' The optative, 'may it be!' would be rendered 'I wish that it will be.'

13. Necessity, as in the phrase, 'I must go,' is expressed by the paraphrase, 'to me to go is,' *ngáke nungke le*. This form is also often used for a simple present or future, as *ngá kám zátke le*, 'I will do the work,' (for *zátke*).

14. The verb *leke*, 'to be,' is used as an auxiliary in the formation of the present tense. It is only found in three forms, *le*, *ále*, and *lesá*. Of these *le* is the present; *ále* is strictly the future, but is used as a present and potential; *lesá* is used in affirmation. For the meaning of *sá*, see the chapter on expletives.

15. The infinitive ends, as will have been seen, in *ke*. This affix is the same as the affix of the dative case of nouns, and in this respect resembles the use of 'to' in English 'to go,' etc. In some cases a word in Magar is both a noun and verb, as *thing*, 'sing,' and 'a song.' Here *thingke* means both 'to a song,' and 'to sing.'

SECTION 6. THE ADVERB.

All nouns, whether substantive or adjective, may be used adverbially, which is the same as saying that where we in English would use an adverb the Magars use a noun, and this latter is the more correct way of putting it. By fitting foreign languages to the Procrustean bed of our own, we lose

much of their peculiar type. Instead of saying, 'he speaks well,' a Magar says, 'he speaks good,' or 'in a good manner.' Adverbs of manner, such as are expressed in English by the affix *ly*, as 'valiantly,' 'conscientiously,' and the like, are rendered in Magar by the phrase 'in a (valiant, conscientious, and so forth) manner,' and the adjective will be found in the Dictionary. Adverbs of time, place, quality, and quantity will be found there also, as well as in the comparative table under the section on pronouns.

The adverbs of quantity end in *aranchhü*, which is a corruption of *karanchhü*, 'great.'

Adverbs of place end in *la* or *lag*, which is probably the Tibetan *lag*, 'hand;,' as we should say, 'on this hand,' or 'that hand.' It is noticeable that a final *g* appears in the pronunciation of these words before a vowel or *ng*.

Ex. : *Ilag nguná*, 'si there.' *Hose kulag ále*, 'where is he?' On the contrary, *íla raná*, 'come here.' This termination is apparently connected with the affix *lagi* or *laki*, 'from,' which seems to be an instrumental case of *lag*, 'a hand.'

The adverbs of quality have a hybrid look, and appear to be compounded of the Sanskrit words *kas*, *tas*, etc., with the Tibetan affix *to* or *tu*, which is used as the sign of the locative case in that language, and also as an ordinary mark of adverbs.

The adverbs of direction end in *te* or *the*. I am in doubt as to the origin of this termination. The inquiry is attended with some difficulty, and as my object in the present paper is only to give such etymological notes as may help towards the general comprehension of the grammatical scheme of the language, I defer the consideration of this point till I have obtained data for the analysis of all the languages of this class.

The adverbs of time are pure Hindi, except *shen*, which is Tibetan.

SECTION 7. CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 1. There are few conjunctions in Magar. The construction of sentences is simple, and in keeping with the primitive and inartificial character of the language. The following are

the principal, if not all, words of this class:—*da*, 'and;' *da da*, 'and also;' *ra*, 'and;' *ki*, 'or;' *parantu*, 'but;' 'however;' *ma*, 'no,' 'not;' (Tib. *ma*).

§ 2. 'If' is either not expressed at all, or inferred from the structure of the sentence. 'If I see him, I will tell him' would be expressed, *oske dang le ra, khabar ahe*, 'I shall see him, I will tell him.' Here *ra* is properly an expletive, and adds force to the idea of seeing; to make the idea more clear, a Magar would add the opposite contingency, "I shall not see him, I will not tell him." In ordinary colloquial Hindustani, a similar construction often occurs, as *dekhen, to kahenge*, literally, 'I may see (him), then I will speak.' Much of course depends on the tone in which the sentence is uttered, and in a language which has no literature or written character, the construction of sentences seems always to proceed on the supposition that they will be spoken, and thus derive sufficient aid from the tone and manner of the speaker to make the meaning clear, without any great accuracy of expression.

§ 3. I do not give a separate section to interjections. They are so few as not to merit separate notice. A low grunt, or 'whew!' expresses surprise, assent, pleasure, and so forth. *Ho*, or *Ho! Ho!* is also used for affirmation, 'yes.' For the rest, the 'ahs' and 'ohs,' and the like, are common in Magar, as in all other languages.

SECTION 8. EXPLETIVES.

The syllables *ra*, *na*, *sá*, *da*, *s*, and *mi*, are used to add emphasis and for other purposes. I have called them expletives, because they have often no other meaning.

§ 1. *Ra* (probably a corruption of the Tibetan *dang*, a particle of affirmation)¹ is added to all forms of the verb, and appears to be simply emphatic, being inserted or omitted at the caprice of the speaker.

Ex. : *Nga muling le ra*, 'I was hungry (I assure you).'
When added to nouns it is the same as *da*, 'and.'

By adding *ra* to the past tense of the verb a sort of indefinite

¹ Or from Tibetan *rang*, 'self,' 'very,' 'indeed.'

participle is formed, as *bherdiára*, 'having folded ;' *tagdiára*, 'having taken aim.' I have not given this form among the verbal forms as it is not strictly one. It properly means 'he did, and —,' as in *tagdiára ngápá*, 'he took aim and shot.' This origin of the phrase appears, however, to have been overlooked, for it is now not considered incorrect to say *bherdiára álhná*, 'fold it up and take it away,' which literally would be 'you have folded it and take it away ;' rather a singular construction.

§ 2. *Na* ; precisely similar to the Hindi *na* or *nu*, from which it is probably borrowed. It has no special meaning, but adds a certain emphasis to a sentence. Any one who is accustomed to talk to the lower classes in India must have often noticed how, after a long sentence, an emphatic *na* or *nu* seems to complete the meaning. Thus the question *chilti giyá ?* seems incomplete to the ear, whereas *chilti giyá na ?* is complete and intelligible. I confess I cannot explain why ; but to my ear, and certainly to that of the peasant, the latter of the two sentences seems more correct, as the former sounds abrupt and incomplete.

§ 3. *Sá* is only met with in the verb *leke*, 'to be,' as *gipchü le sá*, 'it is good.' The three forms of this verb are *le*, *ále*, and *lesá*. Of these the first requires no explanation ; *ále* is properly a future, used as a present, chiefly, if not exclusively, in questions ; *lesá* is the reply to *ále*.

Ex. : *Su ále ?—ngo bai lesá*, 'who is he?—he is my father.'

§ 4. *S* is added to verbs in all forms, but only in the second person. I at first thought that this was a trace of conjugation, but I am now inclined to class it simply as an affix, because I observe that it is as often omitted as not. You may say *nang nungle*, 'thou goest,' or *nang nungle-s*. The most frequent use of it occurs in short sentences, as *hi zátle-s*, 'what will you do?' 'what are you doing?'

With regard to this expletive and *ra*, I found that the use of them was looked on as a characteristic of individuals rather than a necessity of the language. One of my interpreters, Juhur Singh, interspersed his conversation with them much more abundantly than the other ; and when I enquired into

the matter, I was told, with much laughter, that Juhur Singh was a *thegá wálá*; in other words, that the insertion of these *thegás* or 'tags,' was a weakness of his, just as there are some Englishmen who seem unable to get through a sentence without saying, 'Don't you see,' 'don't you know,' and so forth.

§ 4. *Mi* is prefixed to words denoting parts of the human body, and is the Tibetan for 'man.' In a short vocabulary of Magar, I find 'head,' *mitalu*; 'nose,' *minaha*;' 'bone,' *mirhos*,¹ etc., etc., the fact being that the real words are respectively *talú*, *náha*, and *rhos*; as is shown, not only by the meaning of *mi*, but also by the fact that in speaking of 'my head,' a Magar would say *ngo talú*, not *ngo mi talú*. I have omitted this prefix from the dictionary.

SECTION III. SENTENCES.

The syntax of the Magar language is so simple that I have thought it better to insert the following sentences, instead of writing a separate chapter on composition.

It will be seen that any peculiarities in the construction of the sentences are explained in the foot-notes, and it appears to me that a better idea of the language will be obtained in this way, than by a long string of rules and exceptions.

These sentences were taken down accurately from the mouths of the interpreters; and each sentence has been repeated and gone over several times, to ensure perfect correctness. Our medium of communication was the form of Hindi spoken in Chumparun. It is possible, therefore, that some of the sentences may have been influenced by the idiom and artificial arrangement of the Hindi, but as I varied my form of words three or four times in reciting the sentence, and besides gave elaborate explanations and illustrations of the exact phrase I required, I trust the influence of the Hindi has been reduced to a minimum. The foot-notes are the results often of a very long conversation on each sentence, and I often proposed other ways of putting it, which were rejected by the

¹ Hodgson erroneously *miryárus*, which is used *sensu obsceno*.

Magars as unidiomatical. The sentences, as they stand, may, therefore, in spite of their deviations from the rules in the Grammar, be relied on as faithful reproductions of the Magar idiom.

Tsanre ránd.

Nákun íla ráni.¹

Mhen rákko (rákhni, respectful).

Dí rákko (rákhni, respectful).

Ngá dí rákhle.

Ngá dí rákhke nungle.

Dí rákhá.

Nango ármin hí ále.²

Nango im kulale.³

Ngo im Tannung ále.⁴

Ite Tannung kurik los le.⁵

Dhere los le.

Banga dino lam le.⁶

Ngá⁶ álag nungke le.

Kánang imang⁷ ráni.

Ngáke jyáke⁸ yáni.

Hoska rupiya yáni.

Ise shing cheo.

Shing bhaso.

Ma chele.⁹

Ngá chí cheke ma hekle.¹⁰

Come quickly.

Please to come hither, sir.

Bring fire.

Bring water.

I am bringing water.

I am going to bring water.

I have brought water.

What is your name?

Where is your house?

My house is at Tannung.

How far is Tannung from here?

It is very far.

It is five days' journey.

I must go there.

Come to my house.

Give me food.

Give him money.

Cut down this tree.

Cut up the wood.

I will not cut it.

I cannot cut it.

¹ *Nákun*, respectful form of pronoun of 2nd person, takes the respectful form of the verb, *ráni* instead of *ránd*, which is used in commanding an inferior as in sentence 1.

² Lit. 'Of you the name what is?' The verb is generally placed last, however long the sentence, and personal pronouns first.

³ *Kulale*, contracted from *kulag ále*.

⁴ *Lesá* would have been more correct, but *ále* was probably used in consequence of its occurring in the question. Observe that *Tannung* has no affix. This is probably omitted, because *Tannung-ang* would sound badly, or in imitation of the Hindi idiom, e.g., *ghar jao*, where *ko* is omitted.

⁵ *Le* for *ále*. The final *k* in *kurik* is pronounced like *g*, and the *s* of *los* almost like *sh*.

⁶ Literally, 'Of five days a road (it) is.' The affix of the genitive is appended only to the latter of the two words 'five days.'

⁷ For *Ngá-ke*. Case affixes are often omitted in long sentences. *Nungke le*, lit. 'to go it is,' i.e., 'I must go.'

⁸ *Imang*, lit. 'In my house, we should say, 'into.'

⁹ *Jyáke*, pronounced *jáke*. 'to eat,' lit. 'give me to eat.' Here the affix *ke*, 'to,' common to nouns and verbs explains itself. Compare Hindi *khāne ko dō*.

¹⁰ *Che le*, 'I cut,' present, used with a future sense. There is much vagueness on the subject of time in the Magar mind.

<i>Nākun</i> ¹ <i>kurik barkhā tsand.</i>	How old are you?
<i>Hose achū</i> ² <i>imang le.</i>	He is in his house.
<i>As ma hakle.</i> ³	It is not possible.
<i>Tsandre tsandre</i> ⁴ <i>zato.</i>	Work quickly.
<i>Ma shele ngoichū.</i> ⁵	I do not hear.
<i>Hike</i> ⁶ <i>nang retā?</i>	Why did you laugh?
<i>Nga sāhang nungke pasā.</i> ⁷	Will you go with me?
<i>Jai ki mā jāi.</i> ⁸	Will you eat, or not?
<i>Lānghang</i> ⁹ <i>dulishke nungle.</i>	I am going to walk in the village.
<i>Hose imlaki rāhang.</i> ¹⁰	He has come from the house.
<i>Hi nge le.</i>	What do you want?
<i>Kānang bai shid.</i>	My father is dead.
<i>Hose kam bhyāmo nungā.</i>	Having finished the work, he went away.
<i>Kat kam zatke rāhā.</i>	I have come to work.
<i>Nyetke di kāsū</i> ¹¹ <i>rākho.</i>	Water the cattle.
<i>Ghorake dāna kāsā ki mā kāsā.</i>	Have you given the horse grain or not?
<i>Hosko kula nungle.</i>	Where are they going?
<i>Hosko imang</i> ¹² <i>nungle.</i>	They are going to their home.
<i>Hoskun lānghang</i> ¹³ <i>kulag āle.</i>	Where is their home?
<i>Pihin nāhakun imang rahle.</i> ¹⁴	I will come to your house to-morrow.
<i>Ilag nguke gipahū mā le.</i> ¹⁵	This is not a nice place to sit in.
<i>Jaike bhyā ki mā bhe.</i> ¹⁶	Is dinner ready?

¹ *Nākun* is indeclinable. The sentence is literally 'To you how many years have been.'

² There is no reflexive pronoun, lit. 'He of-him in-house is.'

³ Lit. 'that cannot (be).'

⁴ *Tsandre* doubled for emphasis.

⁵ Personal pronoun put last for emphasis.

⁶ Dative case of *hi*, 'what,' lit. 'for what.'

⁷ Lit. 'with-me to go has it pleased?' This construction is used because the question implies will, 'do you wish to go?'

⁸ Short for *jaike*. Vide sec. 5, § 3, 4.

⁹ For *lānghang-ang*, the affix is omitted, perhaps to avoid repetition of sounds; but more probably because a Magar never inserts affixes, if he can make his meaning clear without them.

¹⁰ *Rahang*, a form of the present. Vide Sect. 5, § 3, Remark 3. The affix *ang* is common to nouns and verbs, and means 'in,' *rahang* therefore is 'coming-in.' Observe that the verb is almost uniformly placed at the end of the sentence.

¹¹ *Di kāske*, 'to feed with water.' In the next sentence, *dāna kāsā*, 'to feed with grain.' The sentence shows how much use is made of Urdu words in Magar.

¹² After verbs of motion the affix in *ang* is often used.

¹³ Lit. 'Village.'

¹⁴ See sec. 5, remark 1.

¹⁵ Lit. 'Here to sit pleasant not is.'

¹⁶ 'To eat has been prepared or not prepared;' *bhe* contraction for *bhyā*, past tense of *bhyāke*, 'to prepare.' This contraction is merely euphonic.

<i>Tsánre tsánre bhyo.</i>	Make ready quickly.
<i>Ngake lám tdnaknú yoho.</i>	Show me the way.
<i>Kose¹ lám dle.²</i>	Which is the road ?
<i>Taiyar tsán.³</i>	It is ready.
<i>Ngõi chũ hirã mã whárle.</i>	I know nothing.
<i>Párchũ⁴ langhang bhumĩ le.</i>	He is from another village.
<i>Ngáke khasi mishia⁵ jaĩke zoho.</i>	Give me some goat's flesh to eat.
<i>Lhungo dewál kharálang káso.</i>	Make a wall of stone along the cliff.
<i>Hola mã whána, khorhále.</i>	Do not go there, you will fall.
<i>Káhek⁶ ngáke bhára yoho, ngá kam jaĩke le.</i>	Give me a day's wages, then I will work.
<i>Iming chu chiknú záni.</i>	Turn the dog out of the house.
<i>Achũ barhin puráno chýá⁷ le sá.</i>	That man's clothes are old and torn.
<i>Ngáke bal yani.</i>	Help me.
<i>Kan chinĩ⁸ rupiya khusnú díá.</i>	He took away the money from me.
<i>Táolochũ⁹ chulá taking toho.</i>	Put the pot on the fire.
<i>Pihĩn ose langhang¹⁰ bazar lash le.¹¹</i>	There is a fair in that village to- morrow.
<i>Mã ; lashnú bhyá ;¹² hike nungle.</i>	No, it is over, why should I go ?

¹ *Kose* for *kos* or *kus*, 'which?' an emphatic *e* or *i* is constantly added to pronouns. It is a *thegã* or expletive, and is not essential to the meaning.

² *Ále*, not *le* or *lesã*, as it is a question. See chap. 1, sec. 8, § 3.

³ *Tyanke* differs from *leke* just as 'become' differs from 'be.'

⁴ *Párchũ*, i.e. 'from the other side' (to wit, 'of the valley'). All the Magar country being mountainous, a man from another village naturally comes across a valley.

⁵ Sign of the genitive omitted. See sec. 2, § 1, remark 2.

⁶ *Káhek*, 'one day,' is apparently indeclinable. In this sentence it is in the genitive case. It is contracted or corrupted from *kat*, 'one,' and *ek*, which probably means 'day.' I cannot find in Tibetan any word which seems connectable with this according to any canons of relation of sounds. Nor does any word exist in the hill languages which is like this. The Tibetan *zhag* is the nearest. I incline to the idea that the word *ek* is an expletive or meaningless addition which has acquired by habit the sense of 'day.' If any one should object to the word 'meaningless,' I would remind him that in the Turanian family there exist many generic affixes which are really of no use to the general meaning of the sentence but merely serve to mark the class of objects to which the word belongs. This is one of them. They say *nisek*, 'two days,' etc., though the word for 'day' is *din* in Magar.

⁷ Past tense of *chike* or *cheke*, 'to cut, tear.'

⁸ *Chinĩ* here evidently means 'from.' It is, however, the only instance I have found of its use. It has a 'suspicious resemblance to the Hindi *chhĩn lena*, 'to take by force.' It would be too much to assert, however, that this was the real origin of it.

⁹ *Chũ* is here quite an expletive, and used similarly to *ngõi chũ*. Perhaps something in the original meaning of the word may account for its having this quasi-adjectival form.

¹⁰ Affix *ang* omitted.

¹¹ *Lash le*, literally Hindi *lagã hai*, which is quite untranslatable.

¹² Lit. 'Having occurred it is completed,'—*Ho chukã*, Hindi idiom again.

Kam olá ki má olá.

Nga ngo barhin ngele.

Nango asbáb dldá.

*Ngáke ásate dimo kherchú¹ (or
bhogdishú.)²*

Nengi dāngchū kurik ber tsand.³

Ise chitti nga khāta le.

Nákun khāta le-sá; bariá tsand.⁴

Kute ráhá? Kuchi ale birinchū.⁵

Pihin kat utara yámo dkáhe.⁶

*Kan bhai moto zdtnū, utara birnū
dkáhe.*

Nakun hi kāmang ráhá.

Kurik dinang tá ráhá áte.

Kahakang tá ráhá.

*Murungi did, Tsohin khernd, má
nungas dereng⁷ detachū le.⁸*

*Khernang khernang mhungone,
nguke yoho.*

Shen uttar⁹ dlke le.

Tsohin ngá na⁹ nunlang.

Is da yoho, nga da yoho.

Dher beri ngahá ngá ma le phir.

Hola nungnū ngosni hi zatone.

Ite má dāngle.¹⁰

Nahakoī kam zatke hekehū má le.

Som zana khatnū kam zatni.

Kos bhurmi ke bhira nungá.

Kochū sātá.

Ngo barhin ma khātá (or khātone). My clothes cannot be found.

Is the work finished or not?

I want my clothes.

Take away your goods.

Fearing he would beat me, I fled.

How often have you seen it.

Is this letter for me?

It is for you.

Where did it come from? Who sent it?

To-morrow I will give an answer.

Having consulted my brother, I will send a reply.

Why have you come?

In how many days have you come from there?

I came in one day.

The master said—'If you do not go quickly, you will be beaten.

I am tired with running, let me sit down.

When will you take the answer?

I will go at once.

Give both to him and to me.

I have spoken often, I will not speak again.

Go and see what they are doing.

It cannot be seen from here.

You cannot do the work.

Let three men do it together.

What man was sent?

Who was killed?

¹ Lit. 'Me he will beat,' having-said I fled. See sec. 5, § 3, remark 9.

² Bhogdishū is for dishchū.

³ 'By you seen, how many times was (it).' Cf. p. 208, note 3.

⁴ The words *bariá tsand* are a sort of optative form, 'May it be propitious.' This word *bariá* appears only to be used in this phrase: it probably is a corruption of the Hindi *bhala*.

⁵ See sec. 5, § 3, remark 9, example 3.

⁶ Future of *kahke*, 'to place.'

⁷ Lit. 'You do not go-then.' See sec. 7, § 2.

⁸ See sec. 5, § 3, remark 10.

⁹ Expletive.

¹⁰ Literally, 'From here (one) sees not.' *Dangá* is also used.

Nahakoñ kulag ngumone.

Alág ngunang janmo disiñ (or disá)

Ngo janmo thát hola na ale ngo
baba ko holo ngund nesá.¹

Sipahiko² kam zátke whárle.

Nang hi kam bhog disá.³

Náhakoñ bhogdishnú nungle, phir
ghomo rákhle.⁴

Suo thor khosá.⁵

Ngóichū mawhárle, sura má khosá.

Hose dhut tsanchū kurik din
tsand.⁶

Nisek tsand.⁷

Hoske má sátni, rakehū parantu
má dáso.

Hose khushi khátá ma ráhá der-
heng, hut chákñú rákhni.

Pihin ádi hukm.

Híke nang ris khemones.⁸ (or
khyá).

Ngá muling lerá, hose khata⁹ jañke
nyemone.

Hose má yaha.

Where do you live?

I have lived there all my life.

That is my native place, and my
father lived there.

Do you know the work of a
soldier?

Why did you run away?

If you run away, you will be
caught again.

Whose bullocks were stolen?

I do not know, I did not steal
any.

How long ago was it?

Two days ago.

Do not beat him, but do not let
him go.

If he will not come quietly, tie
his hands.

To-morrow I will give orders.

Why have you committed the
crime?

I was hungry, and I asked him
for food.

He would not give [me any].

¹ Lit. 'Of me the birth there indeed was; of me the father living was.' *Na* is an expletive: see chap. 1, sec. 8, § 2. *Ale*, though really a present, is here used for a past, there being no past tense of *leke*, 'to be'; in the same way *led* at the end of the sentence, which, probably from the influence of the preceding nasals, is pronounced *nesá*. *Ko* is a generic appellative added to nouns signifying relation. This is a strictly Turanian characteristic, and is found in Tibetan, Chinese, and the Hill languages in a far more elaborately developed form. *Ngund* is for *ngu* with the expletive *na*; the phrase *ngund nesá* is a longer and fuller form for *ngu le*.

² See chap. 1, sec. 2, § 4 (c).

³ *Bhogdisá*, past tense of *bhogdishke*. Verbs ending in *ishke* or *dishke* have a frequentative sense; also generally convey the idea of motion.

⁴ Lit. 'You having-fled go, again having-caught he brings.' The idea of 'if' is not expressed, being involved in the general idea of the sentence. See chap. 1, sec. 7, § 2. There is no passive, consequently the phrase, 'You will be caught,' has to be expressed by '(some-one) catches you.' See chap. 1, sec. 5, § 3, remark 10.

⁵ *Khosá*, lit. 'he stole.' Passive again expressed by active.

⁶ Lit. 'That event happening, how many days were.' See sec. 2, § 3, rem. 9.

⁷ 'Two-days were.'

⁸ *s. thega*. See sec. 8, § 4.

⁹ *Khata* is lit. 'with.' This sentence seems modelled on Hindi *us se mánga*, where *se* = 'with' or 'from.'

<i>Nābi hose imang tāhamone, ra galam bhasnū bhitarī nungā hochū tsura patta khusnū rākh- lesa.</i>	At night I went to his house, and having cut a hole in the wall, I entered and stole all his grain.
<i>Ise pāli dasnū ydni, phir ise kām zātke mā le.¹</i>	If you let me off now, I will not do so again.
<i>Ichū khuseo malo² nis ber tāke le,³ kat barka kaidang mingke dinles.⁴</i>	You must pay double the value of the property you have stolen, and you will be im- prisoned for one year.
<i>Ngāke karangchū sāsana ydhā, ngo zāzāko jyāke bāhir shi le.</i>	This is a hard punishment, my [wifeand] children willstarve.
<i>Hī toba?⁵ Patta⁶ khuske sazā zatke pārdile.⁷</i>	Who cares? All thieves must be punished.

VOCABULARY.

H. Hindi; A. Arabic; P. Persian; T. Tibetan.

A

A, art. *kat* (one).Abandon, v. *dāske, dāsñū y-* (T. *das*).Able, adj. *hekehū*.Able, to be, v. *hekke*.Above, pr. *taking* (aff.), adv. *dhem-
lag*.About, pr. *khāta* (aff.).Abuse, v. (to use bad language),
lobhī dike.Ache, s. *dard, dhūt*.Ache, v. *dhūt tsānke*.Accompany, v. *khata whānke*.Accuse, v. *firyad z-* (with aff.
taking) (P. *فرياد*).Act, v. *zatke-khete*.⁸Action, s. *kām* (H. काम), *dhūt*.Active, adj. *kām zātchū, mihnati*.

Add, v. see "Join."

Adore, v. *pūjdike* (H. पूजा), *pū-
dike*.Adorn, v. *bhuke, bhūsnā y-*.Advance, v. *nhāslak sarishke*.Adze, s. *basulā* (H. बसुला).¹ Lit. 'to do it is not,' this form is used instead of the regular future, to convey a sense of absolute certainty—'to do it is not (possible or to be thought of, etc.).'² 'Of that stolen property.' *Khuse-o* is, I fancy, a genitive of the present tense, thus *khuseke*='to steal'; *khuse-le*='thou stealest'; *khuse[le]*=id. gen. *khuse-o*. Vide sec. 2, § 3, for remarks on the general declinability of every root in Magar, indifferently as a noun or verb, or both at once as in this case.³ 'Twice to put down it is (necessary).'⁴ *Dinles*, (from *dinke*, 'to find,') 'you will find,' i.e., 'will have to,' construction imitated from Hindi use of *padā*, as *baithne padoge*, 'you will have to sit.'⁵ Lit. 'What regret?' *toba* is the Arabic word so common in Urdu.⁶ *Patta* is put first for emphasis. 'All thieves,' etc. Ordinarily it would come after *khuse*.⁷ *Pardile*, 'it is proper.'⁸ To commit a crime: *rishkehe*.

Affair, s. *dhūt*.

After, pr. *nhun lág*, used both of time and place.

Again, adv. *phir* (H. फिर), (T. *phir*).

Age, s. no word, they say *kurik barká tsand*, how many years have passed (to you); for : how old are you ?

Aged, adj. *burhásiü* (H. बूढ़ा with T. *thse*?).

Ague, s. *kam dsaro* (H. जारा).

Aid, v. *moto z-* (H. मति); *bal y-* (H. बल).

Aid, s. *bal*, *madad* (P. مدد).

Air, s. *tunyál, tsáro, nyamsu* (T. *nyimasu*, lit. sun-place).

Aim, s. *tág dike, tagdimó ngápke*.

Alarm, v. *biríd y-, birike*.

Alarm, s. *biríd* (T. *bre*).

All, adj. *patta, patto*.

Allow, v. *yálke* (i.e. to give, as देना is used in H.).

Alone, adj. *lákát, milákát* (M. compound of *lá* side and *kat* one).

Along, pr. (by the side of), *ang* (aff.).

Alter, v. *thetke, thet rákhke*.

Always, adv. *hardam* (P. هردم).

And, c. *da, ra* (T. *da, dar*).

Anger, s. *ghussa* (A. غصّة), *rhis*.

Angry, adj. *rhischü*.

Animal, s. *jiwát* (H. जीवत्).

Ankle, s. *golí gáthá* (H. गौली-गाथा, round joint).

Anklet, s. *kali, hápri, hadá*.

Annoy, v. *dikk z-* (A. دق).

Annoyed, to be, v. *dikk le dike* (i.e. to say, it is a trouble).

Another, adj. *párchü* (lit. opposite).

Answer, s. *uttara* (H. उत्तर).

Answer, v. *uttara y-*, or *uttaar birinke*.

Ant, s. *mháar* (P. مور); white ant, *gara* (T. *gro'ma*).

Anyone, pron. *sura, suro*.

Anything, pron. *hira*.

Apart, adv. *farak* (A. فرق), *losh*.

Ape, s. *laku, phorzochü*.

Appear, v. *dángke, pherke*.

Appearance, s. *dángá*.

Apple, s. *shoi* (P. سیب, in H. سیو).

Apply, v. (ask for) *nyeke*, (as a bandage) *molke*, (in a general sense) *le dike*.

Approach, v. *ráhke, táke*.

Approve, v. *man* (H. मन), *paske*, (they say *ngo man pasone*, lit. 'it reaches my mind,' for, 'I approve of it.'

Arable, adj. *bári, hyá* (see Field).

Arise, v. *soke*.

Arm, s. *pákhurá*.

Arm-pit, s. *kákhí* (H. काख), *gá-lap*.

Around, pr. *ds pásang* (H. आस-पास), *kherep*.

Arouse, v. *sotakke, ngákakke*.

Arrange, v. *káske*.

Arrest, v. *ghoke*.

Arrive, v. *táke, tá ráhke, tárhke* (corruption of the last preceding verb).

Arrogant, adj. *jarkaṭ*.
 Arrow, s. *kánr* (H. कानर) *myá*,
 (T. *mdá*).
 Artisan, s. *karmí* (H. कर्मि).
 As, adv. *josto*, as . . . so, *josto*
 . . . *tosto*.
 Ascend, v. *kálke*, *kálhke* (T. *kal*).
 Ashamed, adj. *kharak chü*.
 Ashamed, to be, v. *khátrakke* (T.
khre').
 Ashes, s. *rháp*.
 Asleep, adj. *mischü*.
 Ask, v. *ginke*, *sodke* (T. *shod*).
 Assist, see Aid.
 At, pr. *ang* (aff.).
 Attack, v. *sátke ráhke* (lit. to come
 to hit).
 Avarice, s. *lalachí* (H. لالچی),
nondo.
 Avoid, v. *kherke*.
 Awake, to be, v. *soke* (T. *srung*,
 pr. *sung*, to watch).
 Awake, adj. *sochü*.
 Axe, s. *áruí*.

B

Baboon, s. *dhedúa*.
 Back, s. *tzhang*.
 Back, adv. *pher* (H. फेर).
 Bad, adj. *ma shechü*, *ma gipechü*,
ma zabechü (lit. not good, not
 pleasant, not right).
 Bag, s. *thailí* (H. थैली).
 Bake, v. *phinke*.
 Bald, adj. *tháp*.
 Ball, s. *goli* (H. गोली).
 Bamboo, s. *huk* (T. *myug*, pr.
nyug).
 Bandage, s. (worn round the legs

by Bhotias, not by Magars)
motso, *dotso*, *dotsá*.
 Barber, s. *ndü*, *hulchü*.
 Bare, adj. *nanga* (H. नंगा).
 Bark, s. (of a tree), *bokrá*.
 Barley, s. *tzaí* (*jai*, H. जै).
 Basket, s. *dháli*, *dhikiá*, *giring*,
gyü.
 Bathe, v. *hurke*, *reshke*.
 Battle, s. *larái* (H. लड़ाई).
 Be, v. *leke* (T. *lags*, pr. *la'i*),
tsánke.
 Become, v. *tsánke*.
 Beam, s. (of a tree), *takhta* (P.),
shing.
 Bear, v. (carry), *álhke*, *bátke*,
kohke; (bear children), *záke*.
 Bear, s. *bhálú* (H. भालू).
 Beat, v. *detakke*, *sátke* (T. *sod*),
chike (T. *shig*), *cheke*.
 Beautiful, adj. *shechü*.
 Bee, s. *tsúka*.
 Beehive, s. *shing ghos* (lit. tree-
 wax).
 Before, pr. *nháslak*, *ngáslak*.
 Beg, v. *nyeke*, *ngeke* (pres.
ngange, imper. *nyoho*, *ngoho*,
 past *ngáhá*).
 Begin, v. *árambho zátke*, *laske*
 (lit. to attach, adhere; 'It began
 to be;' *lake lasone*, i.q. Hindi
hone lagá).
 Behind, pr. *nhunlág*.
 Believe, v. no word; they say, 'I
 think it is true.'
 Belly, s. *tuk* (T. *lto*, pr. *to*).
 Belong, v. no word; they say, 'It
 is to me' *ngáke le*, for, 'It be-
 longs to me.'

Beloved, adj. *ro*, *piyaro*; see To love.
 Below, pr. *mhúglág*.
 Belt, s. *potoká*.
 Bend, v. *árjakke*.
 Beneath, pr. *mhoiking* (aff.)
 Benefit, s. *phal* (H. फल).
 Bent, adj. *árjakchü*, *terhá* (H.).
 Berry, s. *geprá*.
 Beside, adv. *kherep*, *khátá* (aff.).
 Besides, adv. *siwá* (H.).
 Between, pr. *bích* (H.).
 Bewitch, v. *jokhandá* *z-* (with aff. *ke*).
 Beyond, pr. *pár*, *párchü*.
 Big, adj. *karangchü*.
 Bind, v. *chyakke*, *chekke* (T. *ching*).
 Bird, s. *gwhá* (T. *wya*); birds generally, *tsara-tsaringi*.
 Birth, s. *janmo* (H. जन्म).
 Bit, s. (piece), *tukrá* (H.), of a horse, *kaziydá* (H.).
 Bitch, *chü-mán* (T. *chhimo*).
 Bite, v. *syakki jikke* (lit. "cut with teeth").
 Bitter, adj. *birichü*.
 Black, adj. *chikchü*.
 Blacksmith, s. *kámí* (H. कामी).
 Blame, s. *nindá* (H.).
 Blaze, s. *mhep* (lit. fire).
 Bleed, v. *hiú rahke*, or *laske*, or *paske*.
 Blind, adj. no word; they say, 'he does not see,' *má dangone*.
 Blood, s. *hiú*.
 Bloom, v. *sar shyáke*.
 Blow, v. (as the wind) *ráhke* (lit. to come, e.g. 'the wind blows,'

namsu rahle); with the mouth, *mhut ke* (T. *bud*).
 Blue, adj. *nílá* (H. नीला).
 Blunt, adj. *ma retchü* (lit. not sharp).
 Board, s. (of wood), *pirá*, *pirhá*.
 Boast, v. no word; they say, 'to talk big.'
 Boat, s. *dong* (H. डोंगा).
 Boatman, s. *mallákh* (P.), *mánjhi* (H.).
 Body, s. no word; they say, *tuk tzhang*, i.e. back and belly.
 Boil, v. *pinke* (lit. to cook).
 Boil, s. *dsungmá* (also, a sore of any kind).
 Bold, adj. *bholiü*.
 Bolt, s. *kam*, *gazwár*, *tuni*.
 Bolt, v. *kam y-*.
 Bone, s. *rhús*, *ros* (T. *ruswa*).
 Book, s. *pustak* (H. पुस्तक).
 Born, to be, v. *janmo tsanke* (H. जनम).
 Borrow, v. *rini lake* (H. रिन्, or T. *rin*).
 Both, pr. no word; they use *nis*, i.e. two.
 Bow, s. *hángá*.
 Bow, v. no word; the Magar stands upright and salutes with the hand to the forehead.
 Bow, s. *dhanuk* (H.); bow-string, *tándo*.
 Bowels, s. *tuk* (lit. belly. I question if the Magar is aware that he possesses bowels).
 Box, s. *sundúk* (A. صندوق).
 Boy, s. *zázáko*, *lenzázá*.
 Bracelet, s. *tsuri*, *tsurá* (H. चुरा).

Brain, s. no word.

Bran, s. *taptá, bhús* (H. भुस),
dulo.

Brass, s. *pital* (H. पीतल).

Bread, s. no word; the thing itself
not used.

Break, v. *bhaske*.

Breast, s. *chhāti* (H. छाती);
woman's, *dūd*.

Breath, s. *swán* (H. सांस).

Breathe, v. *swán laske*.

Breech, s. *puṭá, tsak*.

Breeches, s. *salwár* (P. شلوار).

Bribe, s. *ghús* (H. घूस).

Bribe, v. *ghús y-*.

Brick, s. *tnṭ* (H. ईंट).

Bridge, s. *sangho* (T. zam),
jalanghá.

Bridle, s. *lagám* (P. لگام).

Bright, adj. *jhalak* (H. झलक्).

Bring, v. *rúkhke*.

Broad, adj. *gaz* (P. گز).

Brother, s. *bhai* (H. भाई).

Brow, s. *mikpus*.

Bruise, v. *ngukke*.

Brush, v. *jhr díke*.

Bud, s. *śár* (lit. flower).

Buffalo, s. (male) *rángho, merhang*
lochü (lit. long horns); female,
bhainśi (H. भैंसी).

Build, v. *káske* (T. kas).

Bull, s. *thor, phor*.

Bullet, s. *goli* (H. गोली).

Bundle, s. *kumlo, gantá*.

Burden, s. *bhosa, bojhá* (H. बोझा).

Burn, v. (as fire) *mháṭke* (T. bud);
burn the dead, *tsoke* (T. tsos,
pr. tsoi).

Business, s. *kám* (H. काम).

Busy, adj. *kám zatchü*.

But, adv. *parantu* (S. परन्तु).

Butterfly, s. *whámú*.

Buttock, s. *tsák*.

Buy, v. *loke, lomo rákhke* (T. nyos).

By, pr. (near) *ang* (aff.), *kháta*
(aff.); by means of, *-i* (aff.).

C.

Calf, s. *bachá* (H. बचा), of leg,
tikrá.

Call, v. *árgake, árgamo rákhke*,
yetke.

Camp, s. *bás* (H. बाशा).

Can, s. (lotah) *boghnd*.

Can, v. (be able) *hekke*.

Cane, s. *ri*.

Carve, v. (engrave) *bhuto bhardike*.

Cap, s. *topi* (H. टोपी).

Capture, v. *ghoke*.

Care, s. *tsanká*.

Care, v. *tsanké, tsannü z-*.

Careful, adj. *tsannü*.

Carpenter, s. *karmí, shí-karmí*.

Carry, v. *kohke* (T. kyur), *bátke*,
álhke.

Cartouche, s. *kártús* (English thro'
H. کارتوس).

Cast, v. *loke, lomo y-*.

Caste, s. *thar*.

Castle, s. *garhí* (H.).

Cat, s. *suthu*.

Catch, v. *ghoke*.

Cattle, s. *nhyet, thor nhyet*.

Cause, v. *yake* (lit. give), *zatke*
(lit. make).

Cause, s. (no word).

Cave, s. *orárh*.

Chaff, s. *taptá*, *bhús* (H. भुसा).
 Chain, s. (for prisoners) *sanglá*,
 (as an ornament) *galphandá*
 (H.), *nel*.
 Chain, v. *sanglá y-*.
 Chair, s. *mez* (P. میز).
 Challenge, v. *táli y-* (H.).
 Charm, s. (incantation) *jokhandá*
 (H.).
 Charm, v. (bewitch) *jokhandá y-*,
 or *ngoske*, (please) *man paske*.
 Chase, v. (hunt) *geshke*.
 Cheat, v. *thag díke*, *dhát díke*.
 Cheek, s. *gál* (H. गाल).
 Cheerful, adj. *khúsh* (P. خوش).
 Chew, v. *syákke jigke* (lit. to bite).
 Chicken, s. *leiná*.
 Chief, s. *murung*.
 Child, s. *zázáko*; familiarly, *nani*.
 Chip, s. *bhúske*.
 Chisel, s. *rámbo*.
 Churn, v. *khánd káske*.
 Clean, adj. *bochü*.
 Cloth, s. *barhin*.
 Clothe, v. *bilhke*, *pahrke*.
 Cloud, s. *bádar* (H. बादल).
 Cloudy, adj. *bádar sargá*.
 Coat, s. *ángí* (H. आङ्गी).
 Cock, s. *gwhá bha* (T. bya-ba).
 Cold, adj. *jungchü*, *zūngá*, *chisá*,
chisá.
 Collect, v. *botol díke* (? H. बाठोर्ना).
 Colour, s. *rang* (P. رنگ).
 Combine, *khatke*.
 Come, v. *ráhke*, *tárhke* (imper.
ráni).
 Comfortable, adj. *gipchü*.
 Command, v. *hukm díke*, *hukm y-*.

Companion, s. *lápá* (M. lá 'side,'
pha 'person').
 Complain, v. *firyád z-* (P. فریاد).
 Complete, v. *purá z-* (H. पूरा).
 Condemn, v. *sásanú z-* (H.).
 Consult, v. *moto z-*.
 Cook, v. *phinke*.
 Copper, s. *tumbá* (H. ताम्बा).
 Cord, s. *rassi* (H. रस्ती).
 Corn, s. *gerá*, *nári*.
 Cost, s. *bháo* (H. भाँचो, भाव).
 Cover, v. *bohke*.
 Cough, v. *suke* (T. सु).
 Count, v. *hilke*.
 Country, s. *langhang* (lit. village),
des (H.).
 Courage, s. *bhola*.
 Courageous, adj. *bholiü*.
 Cow, s. *nhyet*, *nyet*.
 Coward, s. *birichü*, *khapkurchü*.
 Crime, s. *ris*, *rhís* (emphatic).
 Crop, s. (no word).
 Cruel, adj. *dukhi* (H. दुःखी), *sá-*
saná (H.).
 Cry, v. *rhapke*.
 Cunning, adj. *tsanná*.
 Custody, s. *kaid* (A. कैद).
 Custom, s. *tsál* (H. चाल).
 Cut, v. *chike* (imp. *cho*) (T. *chod*,
 pr. *cho*), *detakke*.

D.

Dagger, s. *kardá* (P. کارد).
 Damp, adj. *nhurü*.
 Dance, v. *shyáke*.
 Daughter, s. *mahazá zá*.
 Day, s. *din* (H. *nyamsin*, *ek* (in
 composition only); to-day, *chini*
 (T. *nyi* with *chü* prefixed).

Dawn, s. *gorak*.
 Dead, adj. *shia*.
 Dear, adj. *role, piyaro* (H. *पियारा*).
 Death, s. (no word).
 Debt, s. *rhin* (H. *रिन* or T. *rin*).
 Decay, v. *gitke*.
 Deceive, v. *tag dike* (H. *ठग*).
 Deep, adj. *lupehü*.
 Deer, s. *kise*.
 Delay, s. *deri* (H.).
 Delay, s. *deri z-* (H. *देरी*).
 Delight, s. *man paske*.
 Demon, s. *bhüt, pisächi* (H. *पिशाच*).
 Den, s. *orärh*.
 Depart, v. *sarishke, nungke*.
 Descend, v. *mháglag ráhke*.
 Desire, v. *chahú dishke*.
 Despair, v. *udds l-*.
 Destroy, v. *näs z-, khardb z-*.
 Dew, s. *namzds*.
 Die, v. *shike* (imp. *shind*, used as a term of abuse) (T. *shiba*).
 Different, adj. *pharak* (A. *فرق*).
 Dig, v. *kohke*.
 Dirt, s. *rish*.
 Dirty, adj. *rishyü*.
 Dish, s. *tháli* (H. *थाली*).
 Dishonest, adj. *thag* (H. *ठग*).
 Distil, v. *bátke*.
 Distance, s. *los, losh, dúr*.
 Divide, v. *pungke, pungnu y-* (T. *phung*).
 Do, v. *zátke* (T. *dsad*); to be done, *olke* (it is done = *ho chuká*) *olá*.
 Doctor, s. *ngochü, baid* (H.).
 Dog, s. *chü* (T. *khyi*, pr. *chü*).
 Door, s. *galam*, (T. [s] *go*; perh. with *lam*, 'road,' added).

Double, adj. (no word; *nis*, 'two,' is generally used).
 Doubt, s. *dubá* (H.).
 Down, pr. *mháglag*.
 Dream, v. *mhángnang dangke*.
 Dress, *bilhke*.
 Drink, v. *gálke* (imp. *goho*); get drunk, *mhorke*.
 Drinkable, adj. *gáchü*.
 Drive, v. *bhusakke, bhusaknü y-, wháshke*.
 Drown, v. *thúke* (imp. *thand*).
 Drunk, adj. *mhorá*.
 Dry, adj. *tsoká, tsohaká*.
 Dry, v. *tsohakke* (imp. *tsohakna*).
 Dumb, adj. *lútá*.
 Dusk, s. (no word).
 Dwell, v. *nguke*.
 Dye, v. *rang dike* (P. *رنگ*).

E.

Each, pr. *kat kat*.
 Ear, s. *kep, nakep*.
 Earring, s. *karnphúl* (H.) *giü, chipte gyü*.
 Earth, s. *jhang, zhang, jyá* (T. *jhi, jhing*).
 Ease, s. *árim* (? P. *áram* *آرام*).
 East, adj. *párb* (H. *पूर्व*).
 Easy, adj. *árim* (I am uneasy, *árim ma lesá*).
 Eat, v. *jyake* (pr. *jaíke*, imp. *jó, jyó, jyani* (T. *za*)).
 Eatable, adj. *jaichü, jyáchü*.
 Egg, s. *andá* (H.) *rhü*.
 Eight, v. *áth* (derivatives, eighty etc.. as in Hindi).
 Eject, v. *chikke, chiknü y-*.

Elder, adj. *bárhá*, *jéth* (H. बुढा, जेठ).
 Elephant, s. *háthi* (H.); young elephant, *tsáwá*.
 Eleven, s. *igára* (H. इगारह).
 Empty, adj. *morling*, *muling*.
 Empty, v. *morling* z-.
 Encampment, s. *bás* (H. बास).
 End, s. *ant* (H. अन्त).
 Enemy, s. *bairi* (H. बैरी).
 Enjoy, v. *khúsh* l- (P. خوش).
 Enough, adv. *bas* (P. بس).
 Enter, v. *bhitari nungke*.
 Entire, adj. *pattá*.
 Entreat, v. *nyeke*.
 Equal, adj. *barabar* (P. برابر).
 Escape, v. *kherke* (*vide fly*).
 Even, adj. *khata*.
 Even, adv. *ra* (aff.).
 Evening, s. *sánjh* (H.) *nabilam* (lit. road of night), *nammará* (lit. day-sinking).
 Every, adj. *patta*, *patto*.
 Evil, adj. *ma sechü* (*vide bad*).
 Ewe, s. *bherí* (H. भेड़ी).
 Exact, adj. *katai*, *katechü* (lit. agreeing).
 Exactly, adv. *katai* (fr. *kat* 'one').
 Except, adv. *siwái* (H. सिवाई).
 Exclaim, v. *árgake*, *sárho hák pardike*, *sárho chákke*.
 Explain, v. *bujho dike* (H. बुझाना).
 Express, v. (as oil, etc., in a mill) *chipke*.
 Eye, s. *mik* (T. mig).
 Eyebrow, s. *bhuin* (H.) *mik pás*, point on ditto, *bhobat* (S. विभूति).

F

Face, s. *nyer* (T. ngor).
 Fact, s. *artung*, *ghút*.
 Fail, v. *ma hekke*.
 Fair, adj. *sechü*.
 Fair, s. *bázár* (P. بازار).
 Fall, v. *khoráhke* (imp. *khoráhná*) *khorhke*.
 Fallow, adj. *banja* (H. बंघ्या).
 False, adj. *lutzá*.
 Falsify, v. *dhád dike*.
 Family, s. *zazako* (lit. children like (H. बालबच्चा)).
 Fang, s. *syak*.
 Far, adj. *los*, *losh*.
 Fast, adj. *khernü* (lit. having run); fast!, int. *tsápre tsápre*.
 Fat, adj. *deshü*, *dheshü*.
 Father, s. *bai* (T. pha).
 Fault, s. *pyal* (A. فعل).
 Favour, s. *dayá* (H. दया).
 Fear, v. *birike* (T. bre').
 Fear, s. *birid* (T. id).
 Feed, v. (trans.) *káske*; (intrans.) *gyáke* (T. za).
 Fell, v. (a tree) *phushke*, *chakke*.
 Fence, s. *berhá* (H. बेड़ा).
 Fetch, v. *álhke*, *álhnu rákhke*.
 Fetter, s. *nel*.
 Fever, s. *járá*, *tap* (H. तप).
 Few, adj. *thore* (H. ठोर).
 Field, s. *hyá* (irrigated), *bari* (not irrigated).
 Fight, v. *punke* (T. phang, 'to hurt').
 Fight, s. (expressed by the verb).
 Fill, v. *zápke*, *zápnu y-*; *gápke* (used of water only).

Find, v. *khátke* (used intransitively like Hindi *milná*).
 Finger, s. *ungli, angulá* (H. उंगली, अंगुली).
 Finish, v. *olke, bhyake* (T. *byas*).
 Fir, s. *gyáng shing*.¹
 Fire, s. *mhen* (T. *me*), (pr. as though written in H. र्हि).
 Fireplace, s. *mhendartung* (contr. into *myártung*).
 Firewood, s. *mhenshing*.
 Fish, s. *disá*; the following are names of various kinds of fish found in the rivers of Nepal: *sahár, ter, gardá, bodá, hile, jingá, tongri*. I am unable to identify any of them.
 Fisherman, s. *digeschü* (con. into *digeshü*).
 Fist, s. *mhúrki*; blow of fist, *ghussá* (H.).
 Five, s. *bangá*.
 Flag, s. *nishan* (P.).
 Flay, v. *tsálá donü y-*.
 Flesh, s. *mishidá*.
 Flower, s. *sár*.
 Flower, v. *sar shyake*.
 Fly, v. *kherke*.
 Fly, s. *jingma, mos, dans* (H.).
 Fold, v. *bher dike* (H. फेर).
 Food, s. *jaike* (verb used as subst.) (T. *jas*, pr. *jai*).
 Foot, s. *hil*.
 For, pr. *ke* (aff.).
 Ford, s. *jingár, jangár*.

Forehead, s. *mitár*.
 Foreign, adj. *pardesi* (H. परदेसी).
 Forest, s. *shing artung* (lit. wood-place).
 Forget, v. *yád ma le*.
 Forgive, v. *daske* (lit. let off), *dayá z-*.
 Formerly, adv. *kangles, miles*.
 Forsake, v. *daske*.
 Fort, s. *garhi, kot* (H. गढ़ी, कोट).
 Forward, pr. *nhaslak*.
 Four, n. *buli*.
 Fowl, s. *gvhá* (T. *wya*).
 Fraud, s. *dhaq*.
 Friend, s. *lapha, piyáro* (H. प्यारा).
 From, pr. *lag* (T. *lag*, 'hand').
 Front, s. *nhaslak*.
 Fruit, s. *áp*.
 Fruit, v. *áp shyáke*.
 Full, adj. *pingno*.
 Fur, s. *phum*.

G.²

Gather, v. *botol dike* (?H. बटोरना).
 Get, v. *dinke*.
 Gift, s. *dán* (H. दान).
 Ginger, s. *chebo* (T. *lcha-sga*, pr. *che-gu*).
 Give, v. *yáke*,
 Girdle, s. *potoká*.
 Girl, s. *mahazá, árnum*.
 Glad, adj. *santokh*.
 Glue, v. *jordike*.
 Go, v. *nungke* (imp. *nungua*), *dnke*.
 Goat, v. *khassi* (H.), *rhd*; she-goat,

¹ *Shing* means tree, and is added to the distinctive names of all sorts of trees.

² About this letter my store of words begins to get scanty, as my Magars left me when I had got as far as F in a regular alphabetical enquiry for words. Henceforward I can only give the words I picked up in the course of my first series of lessons, which were chiefly directed to the grammar.

- rhámán* (T. *ra-pho*, a he-goat,
ra-ma, she-goat).
God, *Bhagwán* (H. भगवान्).
Gold, s. *gyú*.
Goldsmith, s. *gyudupchü*.
Good, adj. *sechü*.
Goods, s. *asbáb* (A.).
Grain, s. *gera*.
Granddaughter, *nátin* (H. नातिन).
Grandfather, s. *baju*.
Grandmother, s. *boju*.
Grandson, s. *náti* (H. नाती).
Grasp, v. *ghoke*.
Great, adj. *karangchü*.
Green, adj. *haryo* (H. हरा).
Grind (to), v. *záta-dike*, *sang-dike*, *ngukke*.
Grindstone, s. *zhaṭa*, *sang* (P. سنگ).
Gum, s. *khoto*, *dhúp* (H. धूप).
Gun, s. *banduk* (A. بندوق).

H.

- Hail, s. *jhirlang*.
Hails (it), v. *jhirlang pasle*.
Hair, s. *chhám*.
Half, adj. *ádhá*.
Hand, s. *hut*, *hutpiak* (T. *phyag-pa*).
Handsome, adj. *sechü*.
Hang, v. *chilokke*, *chiloknü y-*.
Happy, adj. *santokh* (H. सन्तोषी).
Haste, s. *tsápre*.
Haste, v. *kherke*, *tsohin*, *nungke*.
Hate, v. *má khátke* (lit. not to mix).
Have, v. *leke*, with dative.
Head, s. *talú*.
Healthy, adj. *santo*.

- Headman, s. (chief of a village)
mukhia (H. मुखी) *thári*.
Hear, v. *sheke* (T. *she'*, to perceive).
Heart, s. *gin* (? T. *nying*).
Heir, s. *apotuli*.
Help, v. *bal y-* (H. बल).
Hen, s. *guhá-mán* (T. *bya-mo*, pron. *ja-mo*).
High, adj. *ghángno*, *ghangchü*.
High (to be), v. *ghanke*.
Hill, s. *danrá*, range of hills,
danra-kanrá.
Hire, v. *bhára z-* (H. भारा), *konráz*.
Hog, s. *whak* (T. *phag*).
Hold, v. *chepakke*.
Hole, s. *orárh*.
Honey, s. *muhai* (lit. sweet).
Hope, s. *ás* (H. आस).
Hope, v. *ás zátké*, *ásra take* (H. आश्रय).
Horn, s. *rhang*.
Horse, s. *ghora* (H. घोड़ा).
Hot, adj. *ukhum*.
House, s. *im* (T. *khyim*, pr. *chhim*).
How? *kosto*, *kuto*, how many?
kurik.
Humble, adj. *marchü*, *rito*.
Hunger, adj. *tuk resid* (lit. belly-pain).
Hungry, adj. *muling* (lit. empty).
Hunter, s. *geshiü*, *ahtra* (H. अहेरी).
Hunt, v. *geshke*.

I.

- I, *nga*, *ngoi*, *ngachü*, *ngoichü* (T. *nga*, *ngos*, pr. *ngoi*).
Idle, *sukhi* (H. सुखी, lit. happy).
If, conj. see Sec. 7, § 2.

Ignorant, adj. *ma pherchü*.

Ill, adj. *ma santsa*.

In, pr. *ang* (aff.) prep. *bhitar* (H. भीतर).

Industrious, adj. *kádzü*.

Iron, *phalam*.

Is, v. *le, lesa, ále*.

J.

Jackal, s. *shila, shyál* (H. श्याल).

Jail, s. *kaid* (A. قید).

Jaw, s. *kanphar* (? H. गन् फटांग).

Jewel, s. *bhúshan* (H. भूषण).

Join, v. *jor dike* (H. जोरना).

Joint, s. *gepr*.

Journey, s. *lam* (lit. road).

Judge, s. *bichari* (H. बिचारी), *kázi* (A. قاضي). In the central and eastern Himalayas, the kazi is also a revenue official armed with great powers.

Just, adj. *dharmi* (H. धर्मी).

Justice, s. *dharm* (H. धर्म).

K.

Keep, v. *dake* (imp. *doho*).

Kettle, s. *taolochü*.

Kick, *ngápke, láti ngápke*.

Kid, *rhá-páta* (comp. of T. *ra*, goat, and H. पाठा, id.).

Kill, v. *detakke, satke* (T. *sod, sad*).

King, s. *raja* (H. राजा).

Kiss, v. *muhain zatke* (lit. to make sweetness).

Kite, s. *molo* (bird).

Knead, v. *jheke*.

Knee, s. *gonra* (H. गोंड).

Knife, s. *hezú* (the Nepalese *kukri*), *kardá*.

Knock, v. *satke*.

Know, v. *wharke*.

L.

Labour, s. *kám* (H. काम).

Lame, adj. *lulla* (H. लूला, but in H. also applied to weak hands, a disease of marshy districts).

Lamb, *chatorá*.

Land, s. *bhám* (H. भूमि).

Laugh, v. *retke*.

Language, s. *bhákha* (H. भाषा).

Law, s. *hukm* (A. حكم).

Lay, v. *tohke*.

Lead, s. *shisha* (H. شیشه).

Leaf, s. *lhá, milhá* (T. *lo-ma*).

Leap, v. *phalkake, phalakke*.

Learn, v. *pake* (imp. *poho*).

Leave, v. *daske* (T. *das*).

Leech, s. *láwat*.

Leg, s. *hil*.

Lend, v. *rini yake* (H. रिन), *sá-patti y-*.

Letter, s. *chití* (H. चिट्टी).

Lick, v. *lhakke* (T. *lhag*).

Lie, v. (lie down) *shiletke*; speak falsely, *dháq dike*.

Lie, s. *dhád, dhát*.

Life, s. *jia* (H. जीवन).

Light, adj. *tyawongchü*.

Light, s. *rap*.

Light, v. *zurke, dzurke* (kindle).

Lightning, s. *bijli* (H. बिजली) *kesa* (T. (s)prin-(s)kes, i.e. cloud produced).

Like, adj. *khachü*.

Lip, s. *burlin*.

Little, adj. *marchü*.

Ice, v. *jiamone l*-, *jiake*, *jake* (T. *tse*).

Lizard, (large) *maoshulü*, (small) *chepárá*, re.

Load, s. *bhar* (H. भार).

Load, v. (a gun) *bhár dike*, (a beast, etc.) *bhosakke*.

Long, adj. *lochü*.

Look, v. *ngoske*.

Lose, v. *mhatke*.

Lotah (brass pot), *boghndá*.

Louse, s. *shig* (T. *shig*).

Love, v. *homke*, *roke* (T. *ro*, love, and (*s*)*bro*, to love).

Lucky, adj. *sheshü*, *dasti zatchü* (P. نستى).

M.

Mad, *págál* (H. पागल).

Maiden, *áram* (from sixteen years of age and upwards).

Maize, *galapchü*.

Make, v. *kaske*, *zatke*, *bheke* (T. *bye*).

Male, adj. *lenzá*.

Man, *bharmi*, *bhurmi* (T. *mi*).

Manner, *tsál* (H. चाल).

Many, *dhere* (H. धेर), how many? *kurik*.

March, v. *wháke*.

Mare, s. *ghori* (H. घोड़ी).

Market, s. *bazár* (P. بازار).

Marriage, no word.

Marry, s. (no word, they say 'to take a wife,' *mahaza láke*).

Master, s. *murung*.

Mat, *gandri*, *sukul*.

Meal (food), *jaíke*, (flour) not used.

Measure, v. *náp dike* (H. नाप); a tree's girth, *bhirke*.

Meat, s. *mishia* (H. मांस, also T. *sha*).

Meet, v. *khatke*, *laske*.

Melt, v. (as grease, etc.) *khanakke*, (as snow) *bilá dishke*.

Memory, *yád* (P. یاد).

Mend, s. *rupke*, *talo mardike*.

Merciful, *mezghan* (P. مهربان), *mezmán*.

Mercy, *mezghan*, *kirpá* (छपा).

Midday, s. *nyamsin*.

Milk, s. *dúd* (H. दूध).

Milk, v. *dúd chipke*.

Money, *paisá* (H. पैसा).

Monkey, *laku* (T. lag, hand).

Month, *mheina* (H. महीना).

Moon, *gyahut* (T. *gzá-zlá*, pr. *gzáda*).

Morning, *gorak*.

Morrow (to-morrow), *pihin*.

Mosquito, *lamkutte*, *mos*, *bhusná*.

Moth, *whámá* (T. *by a ma leb*, and *phema leb*).

Mother, *mái* (T. *ma*).

Mount, v. *kálhke* (T. *kal*).

Mountain, s. *ukálh*.

Moustache, *murh* (H. मूँह).

Mouth, *nger*, *nyer*.

Move, v. n. *whake*, v. a. *ketakke*.

N

Nail (of finger), *arkin* (T. *sen*).

Naked, *nanga* (H. नंगा).

Name, s. *ármin* (T. *med*, also *myed*).

Narrow, *marchü*.

Near, adv. *khere*, *kherep*.

Neck, *dunga, runga*.

Necklace, *tilhari* (H. तिहारी).

Nest (of a bird), *gaur*.

New, adj. *minam*.

Night, *nabi* (T. nam).

No, *má* (T. ma), no one, *suro ma, sudma*.

Noise, *sarhe, hák*.

North, *dhemlag* (i.e. upper hand).

Nose, *náhd* (T. (s)na).

Nostrils, *dulo*.

Not, adv. *má*.

Nothing, *hira*.

Nourish, *kohke*.

Now, *da* (T. da).

O.

Obey, *man dike* (? H. माना).

Of, *o*, sign of gen. c.

Oil, *shidi*.

Oilman, *salmi*.

Old, *puráno* (H. पुराना), old man, *bura* (H. बूढ़ा).

Once, *katberi*.

One, *kat*.

Only, *lákat* (M. la, side, *kat*, one).

Open, v. *pohke* (T. phe).

Opium, *afim* (H. أفيم).

Opposite, *parchü*.

Or, *ki* (only H. कि for क्वा).

Order, *hukm* (A. حُكْم).

Oven, *chula, tsula* (H. चूला).

Over, *taking* (aff.).

Our, *kánang*.

Out, adv. *bahir* (H. बाहर).

Own, expressed by repeating the pron. of the agent.

Ox, *phor*.

P.

Pain, *ransia, resia*.

Paint, n. *roghan le dike* (P. روغان).

Pair, s. *nistor*.

People, *parjá* (H. प्रजा).

Perfume, *bás* (H. बास).

Person, *jana* (H. जन).

Physician, s. *ngochü* (seer); *baid* (H. बैद).

Pickaxe, s. *hur*.

Pig, *hwak* (T. phag-ba).

Pity, *chima* (H. चिमा).

Place, s. *artang* (v. see 'put').

Plain, s. *mades*.

Plant, s. *sar*.

Plant, v. *sar dike*.

Plantain, *motsa*.

Play, v. *geshke, ármátke* (music).

Pleasant, *gipchü*.

Please, v. *man paske, gipke*.

Plenty, *bahut, dher* (H. बहुत, धेर).

Plough, v. *ghoike* (imp. *ghoyo*).

Plough, s. *har* (H. हल).

Pod, *genra*.

Poison, *bikh* (H. बिख).

Poor, *dugdinchü*.

Pot, s. *talochü*.

Potter, *kumbal* (H. कुम्हार).

Pound, v. *phaldike*.

Powder, s. *barát* (P. باروت).

Precipice, s. *khardl*.

Prepare, v. *tyár tsanke, bhyake* (T. bye).

Press, v. *susar jatke, chipke*.

Prick, v. *dachitke*.

Prince, *raja*.

Print, v. *chapi dike* (H. छापना).

Prison, *kaid* (A. قید).
 Proud, *jharkat*.
 Pull, v. *donke* (T. *don*) *ghoke*,
jimke (T. *zin*).
 Pulse, *nari* (H. नाडी).
 Punish, *sásaná y-*.
 Punishment, *sásaná*.
 Push, v. *dhuske*; push off from
 shore, *tar dishke*.
 Put, *kahke*, *tohke*, *thakhke*.
 Put on, *pahirke*, *pahir dike* (H.
 पहिरना), *bilhke*.

Q.

Quantity, *dher* (H. धेर).
 Quarrel, v. *yenke*; they are quar-
 reling, *yenone*.
 Question, *gun*, *sod*.
 Quickly, adv. *tsanre*, *tsanre-tsanre*.

R.

Rain, *namas*.
 Rain, v. *namas ráhke*.
 Ram, s. *bhera* (H. भेड़ा).
 Raw, *ma minchü*.
 Reach, v. *tarhke*.
 Read, v. *parh dishke* (H. पढ़ना).
 Ready (to be), v. *bhyake* (imp.
khyo) *taiyár*.
 Reap, v. *chekke* (lit. to cut).
 Recollect, *yád leke*.
 Red, *gyachü*.
 Release, v. *daske*.
 Remove, v. *alke*.
 Resemble, v. *khaichü leke*.
 Retreat, v. *nhun lak sarishke*.
 Rice, *tsurü* (in general); (un-
 husked) *dhán* (H. धान);
 (boiled) *cho*, *tso*.

Rice-beater, s. *chim*, mortar for
 do., *ukal*.
 Rich, *dhani* (H. धनी).
 Ride, v. *sowari tsanke*.
 Ring, v. *armatke* (a bell).
 Ripe, *minchü*, *pakka* (H. पक्का).
 Ripen, v. *minke* (T. *smin*, pr. *mhin*).
 River, s. *nadi* (H. नदी).
 Road, s. *lam* (T. *lam*).
 Roar, v. *sarhe chakke*.
 Roast, v. *pake*, *pakke* (H. पकना).
 Roll (up), v. a. *bher dike* (H.
 फेर देना).

Root up, v. *hutke*.
 Roll (about) v. n. *archike*.
 Rot, v. *gitke*.
 Rotten, adj. *gitchü*, *nhurü* (lit.
 wet).
 Rump, s. *puta*, *tsak*.
 Run, v. *kherke*.
 Ryot, s. *dunyáddr* (P. دُنْيَادَار).

S.

Sacrificial thread, *jane* (H. जनेउ).
 Sad, adj. *udás* (H. उदास).
 Saddle, s. *káti*, *zin* (P. زين).
 Sál tree, *phokshing*.
 Salt, *cha*, (T. *thsa*).
 Same, *katái*, *katechü*.
 Say, *ngáke* (imp. *ngoho* T. *ngag*,
 pr. *nga'* 'speech').
 Search, v. *ngoske*.
 See, v. *dángke* (T. (m) *thong-ba*).
 Seed, s. *tsoyo*.
 Seize, v. *gohke*.
 Sell, v. *arlake* (imp. *arloho*).
 Send, v. *birinke* (T. (s) *bring*).
 Separate, v. *pungke* (T. *phung*).

Serve, v. *tsákari* z- or *laske* (H.

चाकरी).

Set, v. *doke*.

Seven, *sát* (H. सात).

Sew, v. *rupke*.

Shake, v. *hoíke*.

Sharp, adj. *retchü*, *páindári*.

Sharp (to be), v. *retke*; it is sharp, *retone*.

Shave, v. *hulke*.

She, *hose*.

Sheath, s. *dap*.

Sheep, *bheri* (H. भेड़ी).

Shew, v. *ngoshke*, *tánakke*.

Shine, v. *jhalakke* (H. झलकना).

Shoes, *júta*.

Shoot, v. *ngapke*; fire a gun, *phorokke*.

Shop, *hát* (H. हाट).

Shopkeeper, *posole*, *bania*.

Short, adj. *tunchü*.

Shoulder, s. *kum*.

Shut, v. *thunke*.

Sick, *ma santsa*.

Side, *pár* (H. पार).

Silent, *ma chakchü* (i.e. not speaking).

Silk, *reshm* (P. رشم).

Silver, *rúpa* (H. रूपा).

Simple, *sudho* (H. सीधा).

Sin, *páp* (H. पाप), *ris*, v. *ris khyake*.

Sing, v. *lhingke*.

Sister, *bhain* (H. बहिन).

Sit, v. *nguke*.

Skin, *tsála*.

Skull, *khapár*.

Slave, mas. *miü*, *kald*, *kamara*; fem. *memán*, *kell*, *kamari*.

Sleep, v. *mishke*.

Slip, v. *puchike*.

Slow, *susto* (P. سست).

Small, adj. *márchü*.

Smell, v. *armushke*, s. *bás*.

Smith, s. *karmí* (H. कमी) *dupchü*.

Smoke, *dhuári* (H. धुआँ).

Snake, *bul* (T. (s)brul), *lochü*.

Snatch, *syatke*, *syatnü lake*.

Snail, *ghuinki*.

Snow, s. *hyun* (T. him, from Skr.

हिम).

Snow, v. *hyun pardike*.

So, *hoto*.

Soldier, *sipahi* (P. سپاهی).

Sole (of foot), *pai talá* (H. पाई तले).

Some, *chik*, *lálá* (T. lala).

Someone, *suro*.

Son, *zá*, *mizá*.

Song, *lhing*.

Sour, *thupchü*.

South, *mhaglag* (i.e. downwards).

Sow, v. *bhereske*.

Sow, s. *whagman* (T. phag-mo).

Speak, v. *chakke*, *dike*.

Spider, *gharna*, *shik*.

Spirits (distilled from rice), *namzas*.

Spit, v. *thokoke*.

Split, v. *bhaske*, *shilke*.

Spoon, s. *darhu*.

Spread, v. *tangke* (H. तानना or T. thing).

Stab, v. *hul dike*.

Stand, v. *soke*.

Star, *tárá* (H. तारा), *bhuga*.
 Steal, v. *khuske*, *khusnü rakhke*
 (T. (r)ku).
 Stem (of a tree), *múl hanga*.
 Sting, v. *detakke*.
 Stingy, adj. *mahátsudri*.
 Stone, *hang* (T. (r)do), (of a
 fruit) *khwuya*.
 Stoop, v. *ghumke*.
 Stove, *armotang*.
 Streamlet, *khola*.
 Strong, *baisa*, *burisü*.
 Such, *hoto*.
 Suck, v. *tsüpké* (T. jib).
 Sun, *nyámkhén*.
 Swallow, v. *ménke*.
 Swear, v. *puranga jyalke*.
 Sweat, v. *namzas khyáke*.
 Sweet, *dsapchü*; to be sweet,
dsapke.
 Swim, v. *paurigeshke* (H. पौरना).
 Sword, *turwár* (H. तलवार).

T.

Tail, s. *meme*.
 Take, v. *lúke* (T. (b)lang); take
 up, *khuske*; take aim, *tág díke*;
 take a walk, *dulishke*.
 Tall, *ghanghchü*.
 Tea, *jhá* (T. ja).
 Teach, v. *pahakke* (H. पढ़ाना).
 Tear, v. *chike* (T. cha').
 Ten, *das* (H. दस).
 Than, *denang* (T. de, and Magar
 aff. lang).
 That, *ose*, *hose*.
 Then, *dereng* (T. derag).
 Thence, *éte*.
 There, *ala*.

Thigh, s. *gaha*.
 Thin, *ruchü*.
 Thing, s. *dhuť*.
 Think, v. *bichár zatke* (H. बिचार).
 Thirst, *disona*.
 Three, *som* (T. (g)sum).
 Throat, s. *dunga* (T. jing).
 Throw, v. *loke*, *lomo y-* (T. tho').
 Thunder, s. *chyaga*.
 Thus, *ita*, *isto*.
 Tie, v. *chyakke* (T. ching).
 Tiger, s. *ranghu*.
 Tire, v. *mhungke*.
 Tired, adj. *mhungone*.
 To (aff.). *ke*.
 Tobacco, *tamákú* (H. तमाकु).
 To-day, *chini* (*chü* with T. *nyi*,
 'day').
 To-morrow, *pihin*.
 Tongue, *let* (perh. T. lche).
 Tooth, *shyak* (T. so, or *thsems*,
 pr. *tse'*).
 Tortoise, *tothári*.
 Tree, *shing* (T. shing).
 Tremble, s. *bhirikke* (T. bre').
 Trowsers, *sarwal* (P. شلوار).
 True, adj. *sáchi*.
 Truth, *sách* (H. सच).
 Turmeric, *beswar*.
 Turn, v. *bherke*; turn out, *chiknú*
yake.
 Twist, v. *érjakke*.
 Two, *nis* (T. gnyis, pr. *nis*).

U.

Ugly, *ma sechü*.
 Unable, *ma hekchü*.
 Uncultivated, *banja* (lit. barren,
 H. बांधा).

Understand, *pherke*.

Unhappy, *uddás* (H. उदास).

Unlike, *ma khachü*.

Unlucky, *dasti ma zatchü*.

Urge, v. *ketakke*.

Up, adv. *dhemlag*.

V.

Vegetables, *gán*.

Vein, *nasá*.

Very, *dhère* (H. धेर, heap).

Village, *lángchang*.

W.

Wake, v. n. *sotakke*; wake up!
sotagni.

Walk, v. *dulishke*.

Wall, *dewal* (H. देवाल).

Warm, adj. *ukhum*.

Warm, v. *khanakke*.

Wash (the body), *hurke*, (clothes,
etc.) *noa dishke*.

Wasp, *árgan, bachum*.

Wasteful, adj. *dani* (H. दानी).

Water, *di*.

Waterfall, *sankhar*.

Wax, *ghos, khago*.

Way, *lam* (T. lam).

We, *kan, kankoi*.

Weak, adj. *nir-do*.

Weasel, *neor* (H. नेवला).

Weave, v. *dakke*.

Weaver, s. *barhin dakchü*.

Weep, *rapke, rhapke*.

Weigh, *dsapke, tol dike* (H. तोल देना).

Well, s. *indára* (H. इन्दारा).

West, *pschim* (H. पश्चिम).

Wet, *nhurü*.

What? *hi* (T. *chi*).

Wheat, s. *gohom* (H. गौड़, local pronunciation of north Behar and Khas Nepalese for गेहूँ).

When? *shen* (T. *shena*).

Whence? *kulaki*.

Where? *kulag, kula*.

Which? *kos*.

While, s. *káldp* (i.e. a little while).

Whistle, v. *sushila gake, sushilike*
(H. सुशीला).

White, *bochü*; it is white, *bomone*.

Whither? *kulag*.

Who? *su* (T. *su*).

Whoever, *josh, dzo*.

Whose? *suo* (T. *su-i*).

Why? *hike* (dat. of *hi*, what?).

Wife, *máhasá* (lit. woman).

Wine, *hán* (really 'spirits'; they know not the juice of the grape).

Winter, *zungá*.

Wise, *bato*.

Wish, *cháhá dishke* (H. चाहना).

Witch, s. *bokchü, bokchini, shing-man* (lit. tree-woman).

With, pr. *sáthang*.

Wizard, *jokhand ngoschü*.

Woman, *máhasá*.

Wonder, v. *áchambo dangke*.

Wool, *chham, ún* (H. ऊन).

Work, s. *kám* (H. काम).

Word, s. *kuro*.

Wound, s. *gháo* (H. घाउ).

Wound, v. *gháo laske*.

Wrestle, *punke, judh punke*.

Write, v. *rikhke* (H. लिखना).

Y.

Yam, *náme*.

Yawn, v. *hamke*.

Year, *barkh* (H. बरस), *sdl* (P.

سال), *les*, (T. lo); this year,

chü les; next year, *rachü les*;

last year, *unhi les*.

Yellow, *pila* (H. पीला), *worchü*.

Yesterday, *tisim*, *tisyam*.

Yoke, *ghoïke*.

You, *nahakoï*, *nákun*.

Young, s. (of cattle, etc.) *leind*,
bakerná.

Youth, s. *renzá* (a young man).
árnám (a young woman).

ART. V.—*Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsee Literature.*
By ED. SACHAU, Ph. D.

[Read Nov. 30, 1868].

On comparing with one another the two most ancient periods of development of the Iranian mind, in language as well as in literature,—that primitive one, whose witness is the Avesta, with the period of renaissance under Sasanian rule,—we find at once this striking difference, that the former is purely national and Iranian, almost wholly free from any foreign influence, whilst the latter, as it appears in the Pahlavi translations and the inscriptions of the Sasanian kings, is overwhelmed by foreign, Semitic, or more accurately speaking, Aramæan elements. The difficulties in explaining the pure Persian substratum of the language of this latter period, for even here not every problem has yet been solved, are by no means to be compared with those offered by the Semitic forms and words, which appear to the Indo-german linguist utterly unknown, to the Semitic scholar more than strange. Though a great quantity of highly valuable material has already been collected and digested by European scholars, still I do not think it sufficient to enable us to decide in a satisfactory manner the following questions:—During what time did that close intercourse between the Iranian and Semitic races take place, the existence of which we are compelled to assume as the source of the Semitic portion of the Pahlavi language? Of what kind was this intercourse? And with which of the Aramæan nations in particular? The same questions demand an answer, in order to explain the numerous Iranian words which occur in the literature of the Babylonian Jews, in Syriac, in the Koran, and the most ancient Arabic poems.

Our attention is naturally drawn, in the first place, to the contemporary Syriac literature, but the reports of the Nestorian missionaries, who went forth preaching Christianity

throughout the Sasanian empire and beyond its northern and eastern boundaries, are lost, with the exception of a single one.¹ Besides, the same Nestorians, and before them, the orthodox Eastern Church, established the Christian communities scattered through nearly the whole of Persia, the head of which was the Jâthelik (Catholicus) of Seleucia, and founded a literature for their Persian converts, a literature of translations, a few leaves of which, if extant, would afford us quite unlooked for elucidations, because they were probably written in Syriac characters, if we consider the testimony of Epiphanius, Adv. Haeres. 66,² *χρῶνται γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Περσῶν μετὰ Περσικὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τῷ Σύρω γράμματι, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῶν πολλὰ ἔθνη τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς κεχρήνται κ.τ.λ.* As this literature has not yet been noticed anywhere, I shall here produce my proofs, specifying no less than three authors who translated Syriac works into Persian for the Christians of the Sasanian empire.

Ma'nâ, born in Hardashîr, after having studied in the University of Edessa, returned home A.D. 415, and became Jâthelik of Seleucia A.D. 420 for a short time. He is described by Mârî Ben Sulaimân, who wrote a history of the

¹ Thomas, Bishop of Marga (beginning of the ninth century) gives in his *ܬܝܬܝܠܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ* ("History of Abbats") a short report of Elias, Bishop of Mûkân, who preached Christianity in the country of the barbarians "adjacent to the Dailamites." His report, though decidedly not free from confusion, is of some interest. The god of their ancestors was called *ܝܙܕ ܕܐܕ* ("created by God," or "by the Yazata"); sacred to him there was a holy tree, growing in a valley, which the natives showed to Bishop Elias from the top of a mountain. Its name he calls *ܐܕܪܐ ܐܕܪܐ* "Âderâ" (ܐܕܪܐ with the Syriac termination "the fire") "the head (lord) of the wood." Elias proceeded to fell it (like Bonifacius felling Wodan's oak) *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ* "and the rest of the twigs around it, which they also called 'sons of Yazd,' the 'little ones,' he hewed and cut away." Possibly this can be combined with one of the two trees Gao-kerena and Vistukhma, both growing in the sea Vourukasha, and with the statement of Bundelesh, chap. 27, that every flower (!) is sacred to a Yazata. Cf. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. 3.1, pp. 492-494.

² Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus completus, series graeca*, tom. 42, p. 48.

Nestorian Patriarchs in the middle of the twelfth century, as "being learned in Syriac and Persian, and the translator of many books from Syriac into Persian" (وكان ماهرا بالسريانية) (والفارسية ونقل كتباً كثيرة من السريانية إلى الفارسية). We are also told by Bar Hebraeus, that he translated the works of Theodorus of Mopsuestia from Greek into Syriac (Assem. Bibl. Or. 3, 1, p. 376).

Acacius, appointed Jâthelîk A.D. 485, officiated as an ambassador of Fêrôz to the court of Zeno, and is stated by the same Mârî to have translated into Persian the treatise في الامانة of his contemporary 'Elisha', Metropolitan of Nisibis, by the command of Kawâd, who wished to have it, in order to discriminate between Christian and Manichæan doctrines (Assem. 3, 1, p. 378 ff.)

Job, who flourished about A.D. 550, a Nestorian monk from Hardashîr, is reported by Mârî to have translated into Persian two works of the most celebrated teachers of the Eastern Church, the ميامر (homilies) of Abraham of Naftar, and the قوانين (canons) of his own teacher, Abraham of Kashkar. The latter of these was the founder of monastic life amongst the Nestorians (about A.D. 500). Ebedyeshû' mentions his "regulæ pro monachorum regimine" (Assem. 3, 1, p. 155, note a). The former, who probably lived about the same time, was a very popular author, both with Nestorians and Monophysites, as we may gather from the numerous remains of his works, which have survived thirteen centuries, and are at present deposited in the Vatican and the British Museum. (Add. 14, 623; 12, 167, dated A. Gr. 1187=A.D. 876; 18, 814; 17, 180; 17, 262; 14, 614; 14, 738; 17, 174). Cf. Assem. 3, 1, p. 431.

As a great many of the writers and chief authorities for the Eastern Church were native Persians, several of them converts from the Zoroastrian creed, (such as Jesaiah Bar Hadabû Arzunâyâ, originally a Persian courtier, then the author of acts of Christian martyrs, about the beginning of the fourth century after Christ; Farhâd, the wise Persian, who wrote his sermons, according to his own statements, be-

tween A.D. 337-345;¹ Theophilus Persa, who wrote against Cyril; Mares Persa, the friend of Ibas of Edessa; Simeon of Betharsam, the ܣܝܡܝܢ ܒܝܬܐܪܨܡ, about A.D. 525; Mâr Abâ I. (died A.D. 552) born a Zoroastrian, and many others)—it seems natural, that some of them at least should have endeavoured to provide their fellow Christians in the Persian empire with prayers, hymns, sermons, histories of saints, rules of ascetic life, etc., in their own tongue; and, accordingly, we have precise statements as to the three Syriac authors above mentioned, two Nestorians and one before the Nestorian schism, to whom we may add from a later period, when Islâm already prevailed in those countries, Ahron Persa, who became famous, about A.D. 665, as ܐܗܪܐܢ ܡܬܪܝܡܢܐ "the Persian translator." (Assem. 2, p. 104a).

As regards the contents of this literature, its having perished is no great loss to science in general, but to know the language in which it was composed would afford us considerable help in solving the problems which the Pahlavi offers. It is possible, that one day a monastery may be found, like that of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert, which will re-open to us the stores of the older Nestorian literature, and yield us amongst them perhaps a few leaves of the above-mentioned translations into Persian; but I cannot think this very likely, as the American missionaries in Urmia do not seem hitherto to have found anything of the kind.

But to return to the point from which we started, the fact of the Pahlavi being almost overwhelmed by Aramaean influence, does not seem to have altered the essential character of the language in the least, as we learn by an examination of the language of the following period of Parsee literature, that of the so-called Pâzand or Pârsî translations, which are attempts to read and explain the ambiguous Pahlavi writing in a clear and distinct character. The main point in which this language differs from the Pahlavi is, that all the Aramaean words have given way to the corresponding

¹ The compositions of Farhâd, the most ancient Syriac church-father, are published in an excellent edition by Dr. W. Wright, London, 1869, Williams & Norgate; besides, the editor is about to make them more generally accessible by an English translation.

Iranian ones, and that every Semitic element has vanished, without leaving a trace of its former existence. This is one of the chief reasons why the Pahlavi is believed never to have been spoken generally by a whole nation or tribe, but to have been the learned language of the priests in the Sasanian empire. It was, to use Westergaard's words, "*lingua quæ per studium artificiosum et quidem arbitrarium miris signis formationibusque a natura alienis onerata et sequentium temporum ignorantia magnopere obscurata est.*"

The date of the Pahlavi, as well as of the Pâzand period, has not yet been accurately fixed. The time of the former, represented by the translations of the Avesta, by the Ardâi-Vîrâfnâma and Minôîkhired, is assumed to extend from Ardashîr, the son of Bâbak (A.D. 227), till towards the end of the Sasanian rule; and that of the latter, represented by the Pârsî translations, from the conquest of Persia by the Arabs to the tenth or eleventh century after Christ, when the Zoroastrian creed was still widely diffused over the whole of the Iranian territories, as we learn from the coins of the Ispahbads of Taberistân with Pahlavi legends, and from the indubitable testimony of Ibn Hâukal. During the following centuries (eleventh and twelfth) the decay of the national religion was completed, its comparatively few remaining followers were confined to Yazd and other parts of Karmân, and an emigration of some of them to India not improbably took place. In this period of misfortune and distress, we cannot expect to find any remarkable literary tendencies, and it seems to mark a second break in the tradition in a certain way similar to that which we notice between the original Zand-texts and their translations into Pahlavi. The revival of Parsee literature in India proceeded from Karmân, where the learned tradition always was kept more free from foreign influence, and dates at the earliest from the end of the thirteenth century. In its subsequent development it may be divided into three parts, which partake, on the whole, of a more scientific and learned character, in our sense of the terms, than the former periods. The first part, written in Pahlavi, comprises views of the whole of the Zoroastrian theology or of

portions of it, especially of the eschatology, according to the text of the Avesta, and oral tradition, such as the Bundelesh and Bahmanyasht. A certain amount of skill in writing Pahlavi seems to have been kept up amongst the Parsee clergy down to our time, as they were still able to compose the Vajar-kart-dînik, most likely within the present century. The second division of these Parsee writings composed in Persian, exhibits a sort of Talmudic literature, the riwâyât, digests of the religious rules for the casuistry of common life,¹ dogmatical and legendary treatises, the Shâyist-Nâshâyist, the Saddar, 'Ulamâi Islâm, Jâmâspnâma, etc. Not long after were composed the poetical redactions of these and older works, *e.g.*, of the Ardâi-Vîrâf and the Saddari nazm, and original poetical compositions, such as the Zartushtnâma and Kîssai Sanjân. These latter may have been influenced to a certain extent by the tendencies prevailing in Akbar's court. To the same period, we may assign the Sanskrit translations of Nériosangh and Ormuzdyâr. As the last, and least valuable, development of Parsee literature, we have to mention that mixture of Sufism and Zoroastrianism, which had its origin during the second half of the sixteenth century, with Âdar Kaiwân (died 1618) and his followers, the so-called Sipâsi Sûfis. This is represented by the Dasâtîr, the Shâristân of Bahrâm Farhâd (about 1624) and the Dabistân of Muhsin Fânî.

Whilst the older portions of this literature, the Avesta and its translations, have been published nearly in their entirety, the later portions are but little known. The Bundelesh has been edited by Westergaard, and more recently by Justi, and Haug promises a new edition; the Saddari nazm, the Kîssai Sanjân, the Zartushtnâma, the Persian translation of the Ardâi-Vîrâf,² have been translated, one into Latin, the others into English; Dastûr Hôshangji has published, at the

¹ One of the chief râwis is کامدین شاپور, to whom the first part of Z. and P. 8 is ascribed; others are بهمن یونجیه, نریمان هوشنگ, کامه بهره, مانک چنکا, کاوس کامدین, کاوس کامان.

² This translation (by J. A. Pope, London, 1816,) has become so rare, that neither the British Museum, nor the Library of the Roy. As. Soc. possess a copy of it.

recommendation and with the help of Dr. M. Haug, an old Zand-Pahlavi glossary, and the same scholar announces a Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary, a translation and explanation of the inscriptions of Hâjîâbâd, and an edition of the *Ardâi-Vîrâf-nâma* by Dastûr Hôshangji.

In the following pages, I shall give an account of a few Parsee works, of the New Persian class, hitherto partially or entirely unknown in Europe; not following a systematic order, but merely accommodating myself to the materials which are at my disposal.

In the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, there is preserved a paper manuscript in Persian, without date or name of copyist, but probably written about the end of the last or beginning of the present century (121 foll.). Some emendations in the margin show its having been collated with the original manuscript. On the first fly-leaf we find these two notes:—"From the Atash Bahram. The temple built at Surat by Pestanji Kalabhai Wakeel.¹ Presented by his son Naushirwanji to John Romer. March, 1856;" and, "This is the book of Parsi Bahramji Naushirwanji Kraji." It contains two works, the first of which is a metrical paraphrase of the *Mînôikhîrad* (metr. *مستقارب*) foll. 1-61, beginning
بنام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان آغاز داستان وصف خرد از گفته مرزبان
راوری. The author, Marzubân, a native of Râwar, is also mentioned in the title of the second poem (fol. 61 b, lin. ult.) and in several other places, *e.g.* fol. 9a, line 7.

چنین دان ایا نام دار سُخَن که چون مرزبان داشت راور و وطن

"Now, o glorious (reader), listen to the word as Marzubân, the native of Râwar, had it." The name also occurs on fol. 57a, l. 4, and 61 b, l. 1. As to his native place, Yâkût (MS. of the British Museum) gives the following notice:

راور بتکریر: *الراء وفتح الواو مدينة كبيرة بالسند من فتوح محمد بن القاسم الثقفي*
"Râwar, a large town in Sind, conquered by Muḥammad ben Alkâsim Attakâfi;" and this latter statement is confirmed by

¹ This statement is confirmed by Wilson, the Parsee religion, p. 557, note 5.

قالوا وقتی محمد (ed. of De Goeje, p. ۴۳۹, line 1), *بن القسم راور عنوة*, "it is reported that Muḥammad ben Alkāsim took Rāwar by force," which happened under the rule of Walīd b. 'Abdulmalik (A.D. 705—715).

The introductory tale, in this translation, is somewhat different from that of the original.¹ The first chapter (fol. 1b) contains the praise of God as the creator of the seven kishwars. The second chapter (fol 2a, lin. ult.) *در معجزات* begins with a few lines in praise of Zartusht, who is called *خلیل خدا* (perhaps in imitation of the Muhammadan *خلیل الله*, Abraham). The author then describes how Ahuramazdā revealed himself to Zartusht and communicated to him the divine writings, the twenty-one nusks of the Avasta. Vohuman and Srōsh lead him to heaven; when he has passed the five spheres, his glory is increased in the sixth by the light of the prototypes of all created beings (*حقایق*); after having come to the seventh sphere, he heard the answer to every question he put; God "gave him from the light of his veil the book of the good religion in twenty-one chapters."

Fol. 2b, l. 10.

وهومن ندیم وسروشش دلیل شده رهنمای سوی کاه جلیل
چه از باد پایه گذشتش مقام زخیل ملایک رسیدش سلام
گذارش چو شد باد پایه سپهر بسوی ستر پایه شد تازه چهر
جهارم چه مه پایه را طی نمود زخورشید پایه رسیدش درود
بروشن اثر در ششم هر طرف فروزش ز نور حقایق شرف
چه در پایه گاه هفتم رسید هر آنچه که پرسید پاسخ شنید
بدو داد یزدان ز نور حجاب ز دین بهی بیست و یک در کتاب

¹ For the purpose of comparison, I use only those extracts that are accessible to everybody in the careful edition of Spiegel (*Gramatik der Parsisprache*, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 128-155). The MS. of the Library of the India Office was not at my disposal, when I wrote this.

² MS. رسیدش.

The author next gives a very general description of the twenty-one nuskas of the Avasta, and expatiates on the importance of the Khirad (*σοφία*), describing it as the inseparable friend and confidant of Zarathustra, by whose special help he was enabled to carry out the prophetic mission entrusted to him by Ahuramazdâ. Fol. 8 a, l. 6.

بهر کار بر وی خرد یار کرد و را مَحَرَمِ راز اَرار کرد
 خرد کرد پیوسته دَمَسَّاز او که باشد خرد مَحَرَمِ راز او
 خرد را چه با اوسر و کار بود بهر رَزَمِ و بَرَمَشِ خرد یار بود
 چو پیوسته بودش خرد راه بر زاسرار پوشیده بودش خبر
 خرد بود در هر غَمَشِ غمکسار خرد در حَرِیمش بدی پرده دار
 گل دلکشایش خرد بُد بباغ به شبهایش تارش خرد بُد چراغ
 خرد کرد اعدای او را ذلیل خرد بود بر مَعْجَزاتش دلیل
 گراز جادوان خصم بسیار داشت بشد منتهی چون خرد یار داشت
 جهانیش خصم و خرد خصم سوز خرد دلکشای و خرد دلفروز
 چو یزدان خرد را بیاریش داد زهر بد خرد رَسْتکاریش داد
 چو دین بهی را نمودار کرد خرد کامکارش بهر کار کرد

In the following chapter, fol. 8 b,

در وصف خرد بیاری جناب اَحَدِیَّتِ گوید

the author begs God to bestow his mercy upon him, that he may give the description of the Khirad in verse. Fol. 9 a, l. 5.

که وَصَفِ خرد را بنظم آورم

کنون باز کردم بکار خرد بمینوی پاسخ کذار خرد
 چنین دان ایا نام دار سُخَن که چون مرزبان داشت را و روطن

"Now I have revealed the operation of the Khirad; let the Khirad itself bring me the heavenly answer (to my questions). Now, o glorious (reader), listen to the word, as Marzubân, the native of Râwar, had it."

In the last introductory chapter, fol. 9a, وصف حال شاعر, the author gives an account of himself, and tells us whence he received his learning. He went to Yazd and stayed there some time, occupied in learning the old traditions. His teacher tells him: "Once, a younger friend of mine, Fûlâdi Gushtâb, wished to study the Mînôkhirad, written in Pahlavi characters; at his request I transliterated it into 'this Pârsî character.'" When he died, Marzubân received the manuscript and turned the work into verse. I give the text in extenso. Fol. 9a, l. 9.

قضاء¹ سپهری بیزدم کشید زهر سو شدم نیکن خواهی پدید
 بویژه کسی کو خرد یار داشت همیشه بوصفش سر و کار داشت
 کجا رستم پور کشتاب بود گذشته زندانش ز جاماسب بود
 بمن آنجنان آشنای گماشت کز آفت زمانی جدای نداشت
 چنین گفت روزی برادر یکی مرا بودی کش سال بود اندکی
 ورا بود فولاد کشتاب نام ندیده ز آمید آفاق کام
 به وصف خرد آرزو داشتی دمامم برو مهر بگماشتی
 نوشته بد این وصف با معنوی (?) به خطی که خوانی ورا پهلوی
 ز بهر وی این نقش پیچیدمش بدین پارسی خط پسندیدمش
 که همراز باشد ورا در جهان نماید بدان راه با همرهان
 چو بر کام او کردمش ساختنه قضارا شدش جای پرداخته
 ز گیتی گذر کرد و این نامه مائند زمژگان مرا اشک خونین فشاند
 پذیرفتم از آن مکان خرد که تا نظم سازم بیان خرد

Then follow the contents of the Mînôkhirad in fifty-four questions and answers, foll. 10a-54a, besides a conclusion in three chapters.

- I. Fol. 54a. در مناجات قاضی الحاجات
- II. Fol. 55b. در تصرع و خواهش شاعر از ایزد تعالی
- III. Fol. 58b. در نصیحت غافلان و انجام کتاب

¹ MS. قضاء.

At the end there is added, in eight lines, a short account in prose of the six sorts of fires. As far as I can see, the work is complete, with one exception, viz., the first chapter is followed immediately by the ninth, though it only contains two questions and answers, the first fol. 10a, the second fol. 13b, l. 12, whence it would appear, that six questions and answers are wanting.

This may suffice as a description of the externals of the work. I shall have now to show its character and value, as well as its relationship to the Pahlavi or Pârsî text, in which I mark Marzubân's translation by M. and the Pârsî text (edition of Spiegel) P. And first, it may be noticed, that, to Marzubân, as to everybody who is not an accomplished master of the art of versification, the rhyme is a very serious obstacle, and that in general, we can rely more upon the first hemistich, as to the genuineness of its contents, than upon the second, where the rhyme is paramount to every other consideration. It was not the author's aim to give a translation of the work, but following the original, verse by verse, to bring its contents into a pleasing form. To effect this, he makes occasional additions or omissions, and generalises or transforms, according to the later tradition, the singularities, not to say oddities of the Parsee Mythology, which he either did not understand, or more probably did not think fit for his purpose, which evidently was to entertain. This paraphrase has not been made from the hitherto known Pâzand translation; for its proper nouns sometimes appear in a different shape, which can only be owing to the ambiguous Pahlavi character, not to the Zand writing, as this expresses every vowel and consonant separately. Neither does it seem to have been made from the same redaction in Pahlavi, which is the source of the Pâzand translation; for the arrangement of the single verses is sometimes different. The original is that Pahlavi text, which Marzubân's teacher transliterated for his friend Fûlâd i Gushtâb into the Pâzand character in Yazd (*v.* introduction). Both M. and P. are independent efforts to interpret the original; the former has often gone very far wrong, but P. too does not seem to have expressed

everywhere the full meaning of the Pahlavi original, as Windischmann already supposed.

The dev aêshma is written in P. as usual *khashm* (Spiegel, 136, l. 27, 28), by M. هیشم (fol. 23b, l. 10), which is to be derived from a variety of reading of the Pahlavi text, as it occurs in the Parisian manuscript of the Bundeshesh (edition of Justi, p. 76, 10; 82, 3, 6).

P. writes *ganiratha ganiras* (Sp. 142, 19), M. (fol. 52b, l. 4) هویرث; one read the same sign *n*, the other (wrongly) *w*, in سردل.

Among the manuscripts of the Bundeshesh, that of Copenhagen has always this reading, except in two places, that of Oxford almost always, and the Parisian one sometimes, so that I cannot see why Justi has constantly written both in his text and glossary خونیرس.

Raêvand, Pushti Gushtâspân (Spiegel, 148, 8) and Pêsh-yânsai are different names for the same mythical place, where Sâm's body lies (Windischmann's *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 9 and 247, Anm. 1). The Bundeshesh writes always in Zand characters *pêshyânsai*, and if we transliterate this into the Pahlavi character, we can readily explain the reading of M. دشت پشدس (fol. 51b, l. 9) assuming, that in his copy the second character, the compound یش was missing.

When M. writes کنک دز for P.'s *kañdizh* and تور for *thôzh* (Sp. 137, 34), I do not consider these to be various readings, but another tradition, probably taken from Firdausi's *Shâhnâma*, which seems to have been used by Marzubân, as we shall see hereafter.

As to the different arrangement of the verses, I must premise, that it is sometimes extremely difficult to state which verses in M. correspond to those in P., and which verses in P. are left out in M., the more so as the latter generalised and often misunderstood his original. But, paying due regard to this, the order of the first extract (Spiegel, p. 128-133) would be, according to M., as follows:—Verses 1-7, 9-11, 15, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24-27, 18, 28, 19, 29, 20. He has, therefore, omitted vv. 8, 12, 13, 23.

I lay much more stress upon the inversion of the order than upon omissions, though these, too, as we find in this chapter and elsewhere, sometimes seem to arise from other reasons than the mere caprice of the translator.

I proceed to give the paraphrase (text and translation) of those extracts published by Spiegel (p. 133 ff., p. 140 ff.) so highly interesting for Zoroastrian mythology, and shall afterwards shortly point out their differences from the Pâzand version. It will be noticed at once, that Marzubân's language is by no means the classical Persian, and that he uses words, connected with the matters treated upon, that are not to be found in the hitherto accessible Persian Dictionaries. Lastly, it must be mentioned that the single MS. which is at my disposal, that of the Royal Asiatic Society, though in general a very good one, is not sufficient to constitute everywhere a pure and indubitable text.

سوال بیست یکم دانا وجواب خرد

دگر گفت کز پادشاهان کی	سرافراز شاهان فرخنده پی
که اندر شمر پیشدادان بودند	نکو رای و نیکو نهادان بپدند
کیامرث و هوشنگ با هوس هنگ	ظفر یافت طهمورث تیز جنگ
5 چه جم و فریدون با فر و نور	جز این پادشاهان با داد و زور
روارو چنین تا بگشتاب شاه	که بر دین یزدان به پیمود راه
ستمکاره بودند دگر داد جو ¹	دگر اهل بیداد دگر نیک خو
چرا حاجتی شان که در کار بود	یزدان بیکسان پدیدار بود
بدان را نبودی به انباشتن	نکویان ز برتر سرافراشتن
10 چنین پاسخ آورد کز فرهی	بران دید یزدان نشان بهی
که بر آرزو جمله را یار کرد	در سود ازان پس پدیدار کرد
ز نیکی و انصاف و بیداد و داد	که بد هر یکی را بسانی نهاد
رواج سپهر و مدار زمان ²	برینگونه بود آشکار و نهان

¹ MS. اکر داد جوی

² Cf. Pârsî râinidâri i ôgāmān, Neriosangh "pravṛttikāritā yâ samayānām."—Spiegel, p. 128, 11.

ز سود و زبان جُستنِ خوب و زشت
 جهاندار دانای فیروزگر
 کیامرث سود اینچنین کرد ساز
 تن خویشتن را نکرد ارجمند
 ابر مردمان جهان جمله نیز
 زمعدن بر آورد هراسان گهر
 زهوشنک شد سود ازینسان پدید
 دو بهره زدیوان گیتی بکُشت
 بشد زو هراسنده دیو ورده^۲
 بسی رسمها زو پدیدار شد
 زظمورث آن شاه فیروزمند
 مرورا زبان حال^۳ و بیچاره داشت
 دگر آنکه بُرد از دبیری و خط
 بمردم زدیوان بد روزگار
 زجمشید سود اینکه چندان زمان
 بُد از خرمی گیتی آراسته
 جهان از بدیها فراموش داشت
 دگر آنکه آداب گیتی نهاد
 جهانرا به شش دانک برهفت بخش
 بیاراست نندی و آهستگی
 چو جم کرد^۴ فرخنده شهری بساخت
 پس از برف و ظلمات ملکوس دیو
 پریشان ازینگونه آمد سرشت
 زهریک پذیرفت سودی دگر^{۱۵}
 که گیتی تهی کرد از دیو و آرز
 زبَد کرد کوتاه دست گزند
 نکوهی^۱ بیفزود تا رستخیر
 چه آهن چه پولاد چه سیم و زر
 که بر کند بنیاد و دیو پلاید^{۲۰}
 بدیشان چو شد گاه کینه درُشت
 نهاد از بُنه رسم جُشن سده
 بسی کارها زو نمودار شد
 بد آن سود کابلیس را کرد بنند
 بسی سال بر سان یکباره داشت^{۲۵}
 نوشتن همان خواندن هفت خط
 بیاموخت خطهای بنیادگار
 نه بُد مرث و آرز وستم در جهان
 غم ورنج و سختی شده کاسته
 بساط مَحَبَّت در آغوش داشت^{۳۰}
 بقانون افلاک از راه داد
 زقصاص و حکما و هرگونه نقش (?)
 زسایستگی وزبایستگی
 که ایزد درو نیکوبها شناخت
 که از جمله عالم بر آمد غریب^{۳۵}

نیکوئی instead of the usual نکوهی^۱

ورده^۲ ؟

زَبُونِ حال = زبان حال^۳ ؟

jam kard = جم کرد^۴

شود جن و جن بنده یکسر تباه
 زجم کرد یزدان کشاید دری
 زیویندگان وزگویندگان
 جهانرا جهان بان بیارایدا
 40 شود گیتی آباد بار دگر
 سیم خوردنیها زیاکی گزید
 به پرهیز داد از خورشهای زشت
 دگر آنکه از چار پایان دهر
 مرین سود یکسر زجمشید بود
 45 هم از مار دوش وزافراسیاب
 که چون بود ایام دژپادشاه
 ره ورسم شاهی بر ایشان نوشت²
 وگر پادشاهی بر ایشان قرار
 بهیشم سپردی جهان داوری
 50 مران دیو ناپاک تا رستخیز
 چو زآنگونه دیوی بشاهی بدی
 چنین بود سود از فریدون نیو
 بسبتش به بندی که تا جادو آن
 و دیگر کنز ایران پی دیو شوم
 55 منوجهر ازین سود دریافت نور
 تهی کرد گیتی زجادوگران
 بسی شهر بستد زافراسیاب
 پدید آمد این سود از کیقباد

¹ MS. وپرورشهای رشت² MS. نوشت³ The meaning of آنیشی is like that of Pahlavi **سرسون**

همه کار شاهی باندازه داشت
 یزدان سپاس و کمر بر میان
 بگیتی فزوده بلندى گرفت
 ز کرشاب سود اینکه مار سترک
 بتیر و کمان چونکه بفراخت دست
 بسى دیو پتیاره و جانور
 بد این سودمندی ز سام گزین
 بر انداخت بنیاد گندرب دیو
 کزان سهمگین زشت پتیارگان
 کجا بودى از رستخیز آگهی
 ز دستان ورستم همى در جهان
 ز کاوش کى سود ازینسان رسیده
 سیاوخش را سود از بنگونه بود
 چو کنک دزى در زمانه بساخت
 به صافى و نیکیش بودى مدار
 ز کیکسروى² نامى این سود خواست
 شه جادوان کو بد افسر اسباب
 همه کار بر نیکوى سخته کرد
 بکهار در کنک دز را نهفت
 که اکنون کسى را درو راه نیست
 چنین تا سیوشانس آید پدید
 دهد هفت کشور بزینت ازان
 زارها سب سودى پدیدار بود
 همه رسم شاهی باندازه داشت

ره داد و رسم بهی تازه داشت
 همى بود از وی نژاد کیان⁶⁰
 ره پاکی و ارجمندی گرفت
 تبه کرد کو بد چو کوهی بزرگ
 گهی¹ گین کمک مرغ را کرد پست
 تبه گشت در جنک آن ناوور
 که پردخت از دیو آبی زمین⁶⁵
 بر آورد از گُرگ آبی غریو
 یکی گر بماندى بروی زمان
 بگیتی نبودى امید بهی
 پدیدار شد سود فاش نهان
 که آمد سیاوخش از او پدید⁷⁰
 که رادى و پاکی ازو رخ نمود
 که دانا سیاوخش کردش شناخت
 چو کیکسروى آمد از وی ببار
 که ارچ همه جادوان را بکاست
 بگیتی پدر کُشت آن کامیاب⁷⁵
 ز جادوگران دهر پردخته کرد
 بفرمان یزدان بی یار و جفت
 دران شهر عزم کس آگاه نیست
 جهانبان ازو بر کشاید کلید
 جهانرا بود جمله زیور از آن⁸⁰
 که پیوسته یزدان پرستار بود
 پذیرفت دین روان تازه داشت

¹ MS. گه² MS. ز کیکسرو

بر انداخت رسم بُت و بتکده
 بکوشید در نیکی و کار نیکی
 85 ز خیل جهودان و جان و کران
 چو گشتاب آن شاه فرخنده پی
 بیتگی ز گشتاب این سود بود
 روان ساخت در دهر این دین پاک
 90 نیزش بر همان دین یزدان نمود
 سر طاق بتخانه را کرد پست
 بهر کار زرتشت را یآوری
 ز کردار وی او ز مرد بلند
 ازو غالب دیو برهم شکست
 پشتون ازو بود و اسفندیار
 95 کزیشان همه رسم نیکی فزود
 ازیشان جهانرا بهی شد پدید
 نو آئین بساط خوش انداختند
 مرین جمله سود جهان دار بود

بیاراست آئین آتشکده
 به نیکان ورا بود کردار نیکی
 بر آورد گرد از کران تا کران
 پدید آمد از بیخ و بنیاد وی
 که دین بهی تا رو او بود بود
 بر آورد از بُت پرستان هلاک
 زدروند کیشان بر آورد دود
 بد آموزرا رشته از بن گسیست
 ازو بود روشن شدش داوری
 بُدی شاه با جمله امشاسفند
 دُرُج جمله زوگشت نایاب دست
 چو جاماست دانشور روزگار
 زمانه چو ایشان ندید و شنود
 بر افتاد آئین و رسم پلید
 جهان از بدیها تهی ساختند
 که نیکی بر ایشان سزوار بود

سوال پنجاه سیوم دانا و جواب خرد

100 به پرسید باز آن هشیوار مرد
 و پس¹ ساختن در کجا شد نهان
 چه جایست جم کرد فرخنده پی
 کجا مرتن سام را شد قرار

که مرکبک دز را که بر پای کرد
 نهفته که کردش بروی جهان
 که بنهاد و بنهفت بنیاد وی
 همی از ازل تا به بس روزگار

کجایست ماوای فَرخِ سَروش
 خری کش سه پایست جایش کجاست
 کز دِیو ودد باشد اندر خَروش
 اشایه^۱ کجا هوم آراستار
 که یاور بدو ایند رهنماست 105
 شده رُسته بر دهر ویر آستار
 پذیرد ازو دیو و جادو گریز
 بذكر خداوند دارد مُراد^۲
 چه کارش مدار و چه جایش مقام
 چه مقصود ازو هست و حاصل همان 110
 چه باشد مدار و چه خیزد بهی
 که هشدار تا گویمت جای کنک
 سَروش خجسته و را جای داد
 نه در آسمان و نه اندر زمین
 بیایکی و رادی^۳ و دور از گنه 115
 بنا کرد جمشید فَرخِ گهر
 بزیر زمین ساختندش نهان
 زمرغان و گاوان و از گوسفند
 زیوشیدنی نیز و گستردنی
 بود اندر آن شهر با فرهی 120
 جهانی سراسر شود کاسته
 از آن جمله پابستهای نهان
 به پیش دماوند کوه اوفتاد
 کجایست ماوای فَرخِ سَروش
 خری کش سه پایست جایش کجاست
 کز دِیو ودد باشد اندر خَروش
 اشایه^۱ کجا هوم آراستار
 که یاور بدو ایند رهنماست
 شده رُسته بر دهر ویر آستار
 پذیرد ازو دیو و جادو گریز
 بذكر خداوند دارد مُراد^۲
 چه کارش مدار و چه جایش مقام
 چه مقصود ازو هست و حاصل همان
 چه باشد مدار و چه خیزد بهی
 که هشدار تا گویمت جای کنک
 سَروش خجسته و را جای داد
 نه در آسمان و نه اندر زمین
 بیایکی و رادی^۳ و دور از گنه
 بنا کرد جمشید فَرخِ گهر
 بزیر زمین ساختندش نهان
 زمرغان و گاوان و از گوسفند
 زیوشیدنی نیز و گستردنی
 بود اندر آن شهر با فرهی
 جهانی سراسر شود کاسته
 از آن جمله پابستهای نهان
 به پیش دماوند کوه اوفتاد
 بدشت پشندس تن سام راد^۴

¹ Cf. v. 40, 41.² MS. مدار³ گرماهی = کلمائی⁴ MS. خزد⁵ رادی = Pahl. **داسم** "liberalitas." Cf. I. v. 71.⁶ See رادی v. 17.

برو بر گمارید پروردکار
 همان نیز نه بیور ونه نود¹²⁵
 چنین تا دم رستخیز المدام
 سروش اشوی خجسته نظر
 ورا از در رحمت و آفرین
 که هر یارمندی بگیهان ازوست
 130 بهان را² بشب پاسبانی کند
 شناسا بود آشکار ونهان
 زدارای³ دیوان سروش مکین
 خری را که پیوسته⁴ خوانی سه پای
 زهرگونه رسم مقصود ازوست
 135 مر⁵ آن آب کان گشته از بن پدید
 جز این نشان کاب ریمن شود (?)
 مر⁶ آن خرچو افتد نگاهش بر آب
 اشایه نهان دل آرای هوم
 ورا نزد وس تخمه شد جایگاه
 140 برو پاسبان کرد پروردکار
 فزون نهصد ونه نود زین شمار
 همان نیز کلماهی نیک خواه
 که تا دیو آبی نیازدش

¹ Translation of "Fravash i ashōūn." Cf. v. 42.

² MS. بهان

³ Cf. Pahl. **کم دلور** and **کم دلور**

⁴ MS. را پیوسته

⁵ MS. هر

⁶ MS. زهجرون نساها. **هجر** is the Zand *hikhra*, Pahlavi **همهر** (Spiegel, die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, Wien, 1860, p. 153, l. 9).

⁷ MS. هر

⁸ **اشایه کشن** = *vourukasha*.

یزش پیشه مرید شه نیک پی
 بماند مردم زسرتا میان
 بدریای وس تخمه گیرد مقام
 بدریاست پیوسته با ترس وبائ
 فشاند به بحر آن یزش کرده آب¹
 بهر قطره آب اندر آن آبگاه²
 نسازد یزش گر مرا کامیاب
 بهنگام باران بروی زمین
 جهان از گزنده شود تار و تنک
 نماند بشاخ اندران برک و بار
 چو فرخنده سیمرخ گسترده گام
 کجا نام اورا بتازی زنداد
 چو بنشیند آن مرغ به روزگار
 چو بر خیزد از وی بروید دگر
 شکسته چو شد شاخهای گران
 مران تخم با شاخهای شگرف
 پس آنکه چمروش پرهیزکار
 دگر که سازدش تیشتر بموج
 بیارد مران ابر با فرهی
 بکسار وهر بیشه و مرغزار
 درخت و گیا و گل گونه گون
 جهان در جهان را دروهرچه هست
 زشاید وبایست از خورد و خفت
 بشهر هویرث بود جای وی
 میان تا ببایش جو گاو ژیان¹⁴⁵
 بذکر جهاندار سازد قیام
 کند یشث و توحید یزدان پاک
 کزان دیو و جادو بماند تباب
 شود صد هزاران خرستر تباه
 نریزد بدریا یزش کرده آب¹⁵⁰
 خرستر ببارد پراز قهر و کین
 بگیتی نه خاشاک ماند نه سنک
 ز مردم به سختی بر آید دمار
 ابر نخل وس تخمه دارد مقام
 شمارند طوبای فرخ نهاد¹⁵⁵
 برو بشکند شاخ از وی هزار
 هزاران کشن شاخ با برک و بر
 بریزد بدریا همه تخم ازان
 پراکنده گردن بدریای ژرف
 به تشر سپارد بدریا کنار¹⁶⁰
 سپارد بمیخ و فرستد به اوج
 بروی جهان تخم بار آوری
 بصرای وادی و دریا کنار
 بروید ازان تخمها برفزون
 همه رستینها زیلا و پست¹⁶⁵
 زوش تخمه است آشکار و نهفت

translation of Zaotbra, Zôr. یزش کرده آب¹

ابکار² MS.

vehicle during thirty years. The other use is this, that he made known the writing and reading of seven sorts of characters. He taught mankind the lines of the architect (taking them away) from the devs of a bad age.

Jamshîd had the use, that during a long time there was no death, lust, or oppression in the world. The world was adorned with cheerfulness; trouble and sorrow and misfortune decreased; it forgot all evils and embraced the cushion of affection. Further, as a deed of justice, he founded the science and art of the world, according to the law of heaven.¹ All sorts of things were established by him. He made Jamkard a happy place, in which God recognised the good qualities. Then, from the snow and darkness of the dev, Malkûs, being so terrible that there arose a cry from the whole world; the Jmans and their servants are destroyed at once; of that dev nothing remains. God opens a door of the Jamkard and brings forth all sorts of beings, running, speaking, creeping, and growing. He gave to the world a world-guard, and increased the unanimity of the world. The world becomes cultivated a second time, and it (leg. وگیتی) gets another station. In the third place, he chose, from all pure things, the eatable ones, that food which is suitable according to the law of God; he ordered abstinence from filthy food and impure nourishment. Further, of all quadrupeds in existence, of the (whole) world, he did not give a part to the devs. This effect came only from Jamshîd, that the whole world depended, in rest and hope, upon him.

Further, the Almighty God saw this advantage resulting from the serpent of the shoulder and Afrâsiâb, that, since the days of the wicked king had come, an age of the revengeful Ahriman, he transferred the dignity of the reign to them, whose nature was founded upon the action of the devs. And, if the sovereignty had not been settled on them, Ahriman would have reached his intention; to Hêsham he would have given the dominion of the world with oppression and tyranny, and that impure devil would not have been routed nor put to flight from the world till the day of resurrection. If, in that man-

¹ Verse 32 is omitted, as the text is corrupt.

ner, a dev had been the master, the world would have been utterly ruined.

The brave Ferêdûn had this use, that he chained Daghâk, the friend of the dev, with such a chain, that there is no deliverance nor quarter for that magician. And another use he afforded, in blotting out of Erân the unfortunate traces of the devs by cleaning the earth of them.

Mînôchihir became illustrious by this use, that he took revenge on his father-brothers¹ Salm and Tûr. He cleared the earth of magicians with prudence and—a heavy club. He took many a city from Afrâsiâb, and got an ample satisfaction from him.

Kaikobâd was useful in opening the doors of justice to his people, in maintaining his government in perfect order, in keeping justice and virtue in a flourishing state. He always gave thanks to God and wore the belt, and from him the family of the Kayanians is derived. In the world he was exalted, and he went the way of virtue and dignity.

Karshâb (Keresâspa) was useful in killing the dreadful serpent, that was like a high mountain. When he raised his hand with arrow and bow, he killed the stupendous bird Kamak. Many a dev and beast of Ahriman's creation, perished in fight with this hero.

This advantage came from the famous Sâm, that he cleared the earth of the water-devil. He destroyed the house of the dev Gandarb; he raised a cry from the waterwolf. If, on the surface of the earth, a single one of the horrid creations of Ahriman had remained, there would have been no knowledge of the resurrection in the world, no hope of the good.

By Dastân and Rustam also some good, hidden and manifest, was done in the world.

Kai Kâ'ûs had this use, that Siyâvakhsh came from him.

Siyâvakhsh had this use, that virtue and purity appeared from him, when he built a castle called Kang, whose use the

¹ So Neriosangh "pitrbhrâtarau;" 'Ēdal b. Dârâb in the "Farhangi Shâh-nâma," (MS. of the British Museum Add. 24413 f. 45 b. 2), "paternal and maternal grandfather." نیا بمعنی پدر پدر و نیز پدر مادر بود.

wise Siyâvakhsh had recognised. He conducted himself with purity and virtue, when Kaikhusrû was born to him.

From the illustrious Kaikhusrû arose this advantage, that he diminished the honour of all the magicians. That prosperous father killed the king of the magicians, Afrâsiâb. Every action he founded on virtue, the world he freed of magicians. On the mountain, he concealed the door of Kang Castle, according to God's order, without helper or mate, so that for nobody is there now a way to it; no one knows how to reach that place, until Siyôshâns appears. The guard of the world opens for him and adorns the seven kishvars beautifully, for his sake.

Lurhâsp (*v.* Luhrâsp) afforded a use, by being a constant worshipper of God, by maintaining the whole government in order, by accepting the dîn and keeping it well in his memory. He destroyed the very traces of idols and their temples, he established the rites of the fire-temples. He strove after noble purposes and bestowed benefits upon good men. From the Jews and magicians he took away the land from one end to the other, when that king Gushtâb appeared from his house.

From Gushtâb the world got this use, that he spread the pure religion at this time, and destroyed the worshippers of idols. He praised only the dîn of God, he eradicated the followers of a wicked religion. He crushed the top of the cupola of the idol temple. The bad teacher ceased to exercise evil influence. He gave assistance in everything to Zartusht, by this his reign became famous. On account of his deeds, he was raised from a great man to a king amongst all the Amshâsfands. Most of the devs were defeated by him, he made all Drujas powerless. Pashûtan and Isfandiyâr came from him and Jâmâst, the wise man of his time. All good increased by them, no age saw or heard of men like them. They afforded benefit to the world, impure customs and manners vanished. A new law they founded, an excellent groundwork; they made the world free of evils.

All these (things) were the use from God, because all of them (the above mentioned heroes and kings) were bearers of a suitable good.

53rd Question of the Wise Man, and Answer of the σοφία.

That wise man asked again—Who has built Kang-diz? After being made, where was it hidden? Who hid it on the earth?

Where is that fortunate Jamkard? Who built it and hid it? Where does the body of Sâm rest, from eternity to eternity?

Where is the residence of the happy Serôsh, for whose sake devils and beasts are in trouble?

Where is the residence of the ass with three feet, whose helper is the guiding Jzad?

Where is the Vourukasha, Hôm, the preparer, who has grown higher than fate and star? through whom the resurrection is prepared, dev and magician fly from him.

Where is the pure Mobad, the king of the morning? his occupation is to think of God. When the fish Galmâhî comes, what is his work and his place? Where is Sâmurg's nest, and what is sought from him and obtained?

Where is the place of Amrôsh and Camrôsh? and what good comes from them?

It answered thus: As to the place where Kang-diz is—keep it well, that I may say it to you. The blessed Serôsh has assigned to it, from its foundation, the place between earth and air, above the pure and distinguished Erân, neither in heaven nor on earth. Siyâwakhsh built it from the foundation in purity and virtue, and without sin.

If you ask for the Jam-kard, it was built by the happy Jamshîd, in Erân, and well-skilled men constructed it under the earth. Of all best things, prudent men, birds, cows, sheep, of everything that grows, that is edible, that can be used as clothing or bedding, which is of a good and auspicious class,—of all these there is something in that glorious place; so that the whole world was deprived of all its property. Again, the world shall become flourishing, through all those hidden and incarcerated things.

In the plain of Pashandas lies the body of the noble Sâm before the Damâvand. The creator ordered 99999 farvars of

the pure men (to watch over him), that it might be safe from magicians and devs. So they watch over it, night and day, till the day of the resurrection.

The pure Serôsh, with auspicious look, stays in the sea of the Vis-tukhma tree. The creator has called him, by way of grace and blessing, "master of the world," because all help in the world comes from him. The defeat of the devs comes from him; he watches by night over good men, and also by day time he takes care of them. He knows what is manifest and secret, and cares for body and soul. The bold Serôsh beats the devs, being a protector of goodmen for the time of the battle of hatred.

The ass, which is called "three feet," has its residence in the sea of the Vis-tukhma. It is destined for manifold purposes; purity, virtue, and welfare come from him. All water coming out of the ground, which has been stained by dirt and carcass, is purified by him.¹ When the eye of this ass falls upon water, it purifies all impurity and vice.

The heart of the preparer Hôm is hidden in the sea Vourukasha; he rejoices this kishvar. His residence is close to the Vis-tukhma, in the Vourukasha. The creator gave him, as guardians, 99999 farvars, which always watch over him. Also, the benevolent Galmâhi has his place around him, that the water devil (Ahriman's toad) may not hurt him, protecting him from all sorts of kharastars.

The virtuous Mobad Shâh, whose profession is praising God, stays in Havirath. From the head to the middle of his body, he is like a man; from the middle to the feet, like a terrible cow. His residence is in the sea of the Vis-tukhma, always engaged in pious meditation. He is always in the sea, in fear and sorrow, acknowledging and praising the pure God. He pours out into that sea the water made for worship (zaothra), that dev and magician may perish. Hundreds of thousands of kharasters perish by each drop of water in that sea. If he does not constantly praise, if he does not pour the Zaothra into the sea, then, at raintime, it would rain kharasters full of violence and hatred upon the earth. From this plague, the earth

¹ Verse 38 is omitted as the text is corrupt.

would be in darkness and distress, neither dust nor stone would remain in it. Neither leaves nor fruit would be on the branches any longer, mankind would perish most cruelly.

Simurg, with wide step, lives upon the palm tree Vis-tukhma; in Arabic they call it the fortunate Tûbâ. Sitting down, he breaks off 1000 branches; when he alights, 1000 huge branches, with leaves and fruit, grow out. When the heavy branches are broken off, all the seed is poured into the sea. This seed, with the wonderful branches, is scattered in the deep sea. Then, the careful Camrôsh, on the strand of the sea, commits it to Tishtar. A second time, Tishtar brings it to the waves, commits it to the clouds, and sends it to the zenith. That cloud rains down fruit, gloriously bringing seed on the surface of the earth, on the mountains, forests, meadows, deserts, valleys, and borders of the sea. Trees and herbage, and various coloured roses grow from that seed in abundance; a world in the world, all that is in it, everything that grows, high and low; everything in existence depends upon the Vis-tukhma."

The contents of these extracts are to be compared with the results of Windischmann's and Spiegel's mythological researches;¹ they will enable us to explain nearly all the variations from the Pâzand text, especially the additions made by Marzubân. Only of the building (بنیاد) destroyed by Hôshang (i. v. 20), and of موبدشاه instead of Gôpatishâh (ii. v. 10, 45 ff.), I cannot give any account.

V. 12. To the one use afforded by Hôshang M. (Marzubân) adds another, the foundation of the festival Oashni sada in conformity with Firdausî, and perhaps taken from him. The report of it from the Shâhnâma is given by Windischmann, p. 194-96.

V. 31. M. relates (v. 31-33) a use of Jamshîd, the foundation of science and art (آداب), which is not in P. (Pâzand text).

V. 35. That "malkôsân" (the biblical מלקוש), described in P. as a "rain," in other sources as a winter, appears here

¹ Zoroastrische Indien, ed. Spiegel, Berlin, 1863; Spiegel, Avesta ubersetzt iii. p. lii. ff.

as a dev, according to the later tradition. Richardson's Persian Dictionary: *ملکوس* name of a wicked person, on whose account the deluge was sent according to a notion of the ancient Persians.

V. 41, 42. The third use of Jamshîd, the definition of that which is allowed to be eaten and drunk according to the religious law, not being found in P., is probably to be derived from Yasna 32, 8. "Bagâ, Neriosangh's dakshanayâ" (in the passage, "yo manushyebhyaḥ samâsvâdayati asmâkaṁ paçûnâṁ dakshanayâ khâdanâṁ") seems to have been taken in a meaning like the Pahlavi, thus *داتیها*, or Pârsi sazhâihâ, "in the right, lawful manner." (Cpr. Windischmann, p. 26, 27.)

V. 43. The fourth use of Jamshîd is also wanting in P. The second use in P. (v. 25) is not mentioned in M., but I think it extremely likely, as Windischmann (p. 203) has already supposed, that P. has in this place misinterpreted the original.

V. 45-46. That Azhis dahâka is called "dizh pâdishâh" (so in P., Spiegel, p. 132, v. 22, dahewat dahâk), is to be explained according to the later tradition; it was taken as an 'idâfa, "az i dahâk," the serpent of dahâk, and afterwards divided into two mythical beings: the serpent (ج) and Zohâk. This latter is the son of an Arabian prince, who rules the world 1000 years, being a personification of all sin and impurity. Erân left Yima, anarchy arose, an army goes to Arabia, making Zohâk king of Erân. Yima flies, is captured and sawn to pieces. From ج the tradition made two serpents: the devil kissed the shoulders of Zohâk and two serpents grew out of it (hence "mâr i dôsh," the serpent of the shoulder, v. 45), requiring as food human brain. This tradition, I should say, is a picture of the Conquest of Persia by the Arabs, the colours mixed up from very old and quite modern substances. Accordingly the "dahewat" of P. can probably be taken as a hint of the time of its composition being after the Muham-madan conquest.

V. 62-64. Between Kaikawâd and Sâm, M. inserts Keresâspa on his own authority, but in conformity with the tradi-

tion. The serpent, which he kills, is the Sryara, well known from Yasna 9, 9. His killing the bird Kamak is also related in the mythological poems published by Spiegel (*Einleitung in die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 343, v. 217).

V. 65, 66. M. contains some mythical elements, which I cannot thoroughly explain. The دیو آبی denotes ii. v. 45. Ahriman's toad mentioned in Bundelesh, chap. 52, and is given in P. by "vak" (frog). Perhaps the "shêdâ i dayan mayyâ," (Bundelesh, ed. Justi, page 48, 5), whose enemy is the beaver, should be explained individually, not generally, as Justi does (ib. p. 27, 8, 9).

V. 66. Gandarb is in the later tradition the minister of Zohâk (Windischmann, 35, 40), but a special "building of Gandarb" is not known to me. The گرگ آبی "waterwolf," may possibly be combined with the dev Khavah, who appears in the shape of a wolf (Bundelesh, ed. Justi, p. 47, 17).

V. 69. Between Sâm and Kahôs, M. inserts Sâm's son Dastân, and Rustam, the son of Dastân, probably from the Shâhnâma.

V. 81-86. The information which M. has concerning Luhrâsp—more than P.—is generalised from Firdausî, whose report is given and explained by Spiegel (*Avesta*, uebers ii. p. xi).

V. 94-97. Regarding Kai Gushtâsp, M. is more detailed than P., adding the names of his sons Pashûtan, Isfandiyâr, and Jâmâst, of whom especially Pashûtan (Peshôtanus), the ruler of Kangdizh, and the companion of Siyôshâns is a well known hero of the Zoroastrian mythology.

II. v. 13. To Camrôsh in P. (v. 10) M. adds Amrôsh; both Camru and Amru occur in the Farvardîn Yasht (v. 109).

V. 17. M. gives the additional information of the building of Kangdizh, by Siyâwakhsh, in conformity to the Shâhnâmah (Windischmann, 17, 245).

V. 24. Between v. 24-25, M. has omitted P. v. 5-7 and between v. 25-26 P. v. 9, 10 (Spiegel, p. 141).

V. 56. That the tree Vistukhma was a date tree (نخل), is a statement for which Marzubân himself is responsible.

Lastly, it must be noticed, that Marzubân's poetry is very

much of the same character as the "Ergänzungen zu dem Shâhnâme aus den Riwâyets," (Spiegel, Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen, p. 317 ff). We have found it likely, that Marzubân used the Shâhnâme; here we find the exact quotation of it (l. l. 330, v. 69).

بشہنامہ هست این یکایک خبر

"All this is related in detail in the Shâhnâme."

A favourite expression of both is تازه کردن or شدن (Spiegel, l. 1, p. 327, 5, 15; 330, 66, and very common in Marzubân). I therefore feel inclined to assign both authors to almost the same age, and this scarcely earlier than the end of the 16th or the 17th century.

It remains for us to state, that Marzubân often did not understand his original, and for this reason left out passages, or wrote something of his own invention; but from the particulars adduced above it will appear that he is an excellent witness as to the tradition of his age, always in conformity with either of the two sources of all Parsee tradition, the Zand texts for the ancient, the Shâhnâme for the modern. I would advise the future editor of the Mînôikhirad not only to give the Pahlavî, Pâzand and Sanscrit versions, but also this most recent recension. *Habent sua fata libelli*—and here we have four different witnesses to the *fata* of the Mînôikhirad, all well worthy of being listened to.

The same manuscript contains, on fol. 62-121, another work of Marzubân, a history of Anûshîrwân. This is, to a certain extent, a historical novel in the modern sense, with this great difference, that here, the action is not the chief point by which the author tries to amuse his readers, but the interspersed conversations on moral topics, "orient pearls at random strung." Possibly, the author had a political motive for composing this poem, as we shall see hereafter. It begins thus—

بنام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان

آغاز داستان عدالت شاه نوشیروان از گفته مرزبان

The author's name occurs again on fol. 118a 10.

برو برو دوا هر زمان فرستد ز اخلاص دل مرزبان

In the introduction (fol. 62a-63b), he states that he intends to glorify Anûshîrwân.

بهنجار نوشيروانى سخن گنم وصف نوشيروان كهـن¹

When Kobâd, the father of Anûshîrwân, became a tyrant, his brother Palâsh was raised to the throne. After the death of Palâsh, Kobâd, having wandered through a great part of the world, returns and takes revenge. His former enemies are compelled to fly, amongst them the wise Yûnân. "The world was then forty years under his dominion; he departed, and nothing remained of him but a bad name." Fol. 63b.

صفت پادشاه نوشيروان ونصيحت نامه يونان

Having heard of Anûshîrwân's succession, Yûnân consults his horoscope, and obtains the answer, that Anûshîrwân would be a friend to him. Yûnân writes him a letter full of advice, and begs leave to return. Fol. 69b جواب نامه يونان. Anûshîrwân, pleased with the letter, asks him to come. Fol. 70b, رفتن يونان در نزد نوشيروان. Yûnân sets out and meets with a glorious reception. The following chapters are uninteresting, as the same scene is repeated several times. Anûshîrwân assembles the wise men of his empire to *συμπόσια* (بزم) with him, he holds disputations with them, in which Yûnân naturally plays the chief rôle. The subjects of discussion are ethical common places, of so vague and undefined a character, that it is not worth while dwelling upon them. As an effort to vary the tale, I consider the episode, that Anûshîrwân, after having heard a sermon of Yûnân's about moderation, resolves to send back to his home the son of Mundiri 'Arab, who is kept at court as a sort of prisoner on account of Anûshîrwân's having fallen in love with him (fol. 74b. آزاد کردن نوشيروان). After several disputations, follows another episode, fol. 88b. خبر يافتن نوشيروان از ظلم قيصر. The Kaişar begins to oppress his people; Anûshîrwân writes to him, order-

¹ Metr. متقارب

ing him to conduct himself with more propriety. Kaiṣar obeys, excuses himself and sends valuable presents and treasures, with which Anûshîrwân constructs a garden, and builds in it a beautiful hall (ایوان). After this he invites the Khâkân, Kaiṣar, Faġfûr Shâh, and Shâhanshâhi Hindostân to come and see his work: they come and admire it. Anûshîrwân's power spreads so far, that "all the seven kishwars are to him as slaves (بنددوار)."

Fol. 92*a*, there commences an account of his building, the Âdar Gushasp on the summit of a mountain, from whence he sets out for Madâ'in, and erects there a palace (کاخ). Lastly, he builds his own mausoleum (دکمه); Yûnân writes a book of which one copy is deposited in the Âdari Gushasp, another in this dakhma.

Here (fol. 100*b*) the first part of the history ends. As a transition to the second part of the work, the author gives an account of the Sasanian kings, after Anûshîrwân, till the time of Muhammad. Though all of them had the desire to see the two large buildings of Anûshîrwân, none of them could find the way to them, but at last, 'Alî succeeded, with three companions, 'Abdurrahîm, Mâmun, and 'Abulkhair. He goes, with a large army, to the Âdari Gushasp; here, an aged Mobad, Râmish Ârâm, brings forward an old book in Pahlavi, the one written by Yûnân: the future is predicted in it, the mission of Muhammad, the conquest of Persia by the Muslims, etc. 'Alî admires it so much, that he orders 'Abulkhair to translate it into Persian: then 'Alî sets out for Madâ'in (also called "Madîna"), where the Kûtuwals meet him and describe the dakhma as inaccessible situated within a palace (کوشک). 'Alî, displeased by their advice, sets out again, resolving to destroy the kûshak in order to come to the dakhma. But his army, after having worked a whole year, sees that its destruction is impossible. Then, an old servant in the dakhma (or margauzan), whose ancestors were appointed to watch it by Anûshîrwân himself, is led to 'Alî. The pîr tells him, that the dakhma is inaccessible to everybody, but, that Anûshîrwân himself, (fol. 108*b*. 8),

چنان کرد در نامه خویش یاد که از تازیان شاه با دین و داد
ز خویشان پیغمبر هاشمی پیوید برین کوه فرخ همی الح

"has mentioned in his own book, that a pious and just king from among the Arabs, one of the relations of the prophet of the family of Hâshim, will come to this auspicious mountain."

'Alî announces himself to be this king, and asks the pîr to lead the way. He sets out with a few companions. After having reached the dakhma, they find the body of Anûshîrwân sitting on a throne; on a tablet and a ring are inscriptions in Pahlavi, containing moral sentences and the prediction of the arrival of 'Alî and his companions. 'Alî, after having uttered a long eulogy on Anûshîrwân, returns to Madâ'in, stays there three days and sets out for the Ka'ba, everywhere mentioning the name of Anûshîrwân. Then follows a moralizing paraenetic conclusion.

I give here the chapter immediately preceding the conclusion. (Fol. 117b. 11.)

رفتن حضرت امیر زیارت کعبه وعهد نامه اهل عجم نوشتن
سه روزش بد اندر مداین مقام چهارم سوی کعبه برداشت کام
سوی خانه اعظم آورد روی برانجار زیارت نمود آرزوی
بهر جا که رو کرد شیر خدای همی بر نهان بود نیکی فزای
سخن داشت از داد نوشیروان همی بود در یاد نوشیروان
یکی عهد بنوشت با دین و داد ز دین بهی کرد هر گونه یاد
که از اهل بهدین ستم دور باد جفاجوی آن قوم رنجور باد
رساند کسی که بران قوم بیم ورا جای باشد به قعر جمیم
بران قوم هر کس بود خوش¹ منش نه بیند ز آل نبی سرزنش
بهر دوسرایا شدش خوشدی به قول رسول و بعهد علی
دگر باره دین بهی را علم فرازید و بر کند بیخ ستم
نکو کار مردم ازو کام یافت همه شورش و فتنه آرام یافت

¹ MS. منش , above it خوش مقال

برو بر درود دعا هر زمان فرستد ز اخلص دل مرزبان
چو شد وصف مرغوزن شه تمام و را نامه داد خواندیم نام
که اندر جهان داد زیباتر است خنک آنکه باداد و دین پرور است
که تاهست اندر جهان خاک و آب بگردد همی بر زیر آفتاب

“ Three days he stayed in Madâ'in, on the fourth he set out for the Ka'ba, feeling the desire to walk on the path of pilgrimage. Everywhere, where God's lion came, welfare increased secretly. He spoke of the justice of Anûshîrwân, always mentioning him. He wrote a memoir (عهد) in piety and justice, mentioning in every way the good religion. May oppression be far from the followers of the good religion! an offender of them may fall into misfortune. To him who brings terror on this people a place in hell is destined. No one who is kindly disposed towards them, will ever be blamed by the family of the prophet (Muhammad). He will be happy in both worlds, according to the word of the prophet and 'Ali. A second time the world raised up the good religion and destroyed the root of oppression. Good men have reached their desire through it (the good religion); all trouble and disturbance is allayed. Marzubân never ceased to pray for it most sincerely.

“ As the description of the Shâh's Margauzan is finished, we have called this 'the book of justice,' because justice is the greatest ornament in the world. Happy he who educates in justice and piety; so long as there is earth and water in existence, he will surpass (in glory) the sun.”

Some parts of this story are also found in a MS. of the British Museum, Add. 24, 413, but in totally different redactions. The two poetical fragments (metr. متقارب) fol. 69b.-74b. correspond :

I. Fol. 69b-70b, ^{۱۲۵} گفتار اندر مجلس کردن نوشیروان و پرشش او
to Marzubân, با یونان و پاسخ یونان در اندرز و حقیقت دانش او
fol. 73b. 3-74b. 11.

II. Fol. 70*b*-74*a*, وزیران عادل از موبدان نوشیروان پسرش شاه نوشیروان عادل to Marzubân, fol. 76*b*-81*b*. The contents are in general the same, sometimes also the wording is very similar.

On fol. 74*b*. there is a postscript, stating that this رسالة مجلیس (Mr. Major Malcolm Sâhib) in Bombay 1225 H. = A.D. 1810.

The same MS. likewise contains redactions in prose of the above story on fol. 49*b*.-57*a*.

Fol. 49*b*.: 'Abulkhair 'Amrî speaks of the miraculous fire-temple of Anûshîrwân, and of his disputation with the Mobads who lived there; they show him two books in Pahlavi, one by Zartusht himself, the other فرخ نیهاله by Yûnân. 'Abulkhair translates the latter into Persian.

Fol. 51*a*. The same story about Anûshîrwân's father Kobâd, his brother Palâsh, and Anushîrwân's succession.

Fol. 51*b*. Yûnân is called to his Court.

Fol. 53*a*.-57*a*. contain in prose the second part of Marzubân's tale, with the single remarkable difference, that here not 'Alî, but Mâ'mûn is the hero. Fol. 57*a*. تمام شد این رسالة نوشیروان عادل The colophon states, that it likewise was copied by order of Mr. Major Malcolm Sâhib in Bombay, 1225 H. = A.D. 1810. All these pieces are in the same handwriting as a Farhangi Shâhnâma in the same MS. (fol. 31-45), which is composed by 'Édal ben Dârâb (according to his own words in the preface) for Major Malcolm, and bears the same date.

Fol. 61*a*.-68*b*. in a different hand, offer a third redaction of the same tale حکایت رفتن هارون الرشید برای زیارت دخمه Here, instead of 'Alî and Mâ'mûn, Hârûn Arrashîd is the hero. Some other slight variations are not worth mentioning.

The whole story is made up, as we have shown, in a not very artificial manner, of two distinct parts, and accordingly the author's purpose was a double one, in the first place, to glorify Anûshîrwân, the greatest of the Sasanian kings, his

love of justice, wisdom, and architectural works; and secondly, to bring the earliest Islamitic history in the person of 'Alî, its chief representative for the Shi'ah, into a certain relation to him, describing him as paying the utmost reverence to Anûshirwân's memory. In this way, it would seem, the author, himself a بهدین, tried to establish a claim upon the Muḥammadans for acknowledgement of, and especially protection for the remaining followers of that creed, which was Anûshirwân's, whom and which, 'Alî himself glorifies, according to the tale of Marzubân (vide v. 4, 5 of the above given extract). The author adds, on his own authority, that "he who is well disposed towards them, never will be blamed by the prophet (Muḥammad) and his family (especially 'Alî)". On this account, I suppose that this نامه داد or "book of justice," is a child of injustice and oppression; that Marzubân wrote it during his stay at Yazd, in a time of trouble and distress, in order to give the persecutors of his fellow Zoroastrians a more favourable idea of them. Marzubân speaks of himself, in the last verses of the introduction to Mînôkhirad, as follows (Fol. 9b. 10):

ولی گر پراکنده بینی سخن	خطا پوش می باش و غیبت مکن
گراز گردش چرخ بیچاره ام	مدامان پریشان وآواره ام
بساطم پراکنده دارد سپهر	نه بنماید یکدم از مهر چهر
ولیکن سپاسم ز پروردگار	که بر هر چه هستم نماید گذار

"If you see my words orderless, excuse and do not slander. If through a revolution of fate I am helpless, continually in trouble and distress—my carpet has been torn by heaven, not a moment appears to me the face of love. Notwithstanding, the cause of my praise is God, who forgives me, how sinful I am." Perhaps we can take this individual description as a true picture of the state of all Zoroastrians in the Persian empire at his time. As the work is addressed to the Shi'itic Persians, 'Alî is the hero, whilst in the more modern redactions (probably composed in India) Ma'mûn, or the common hero of Eastern tales, Hârûn Arrâshid, plays the chief part.

In the following pages I give, as a further addition to our knowledge of Pâree literature, a review of the manuscripts treating of Zoroastrian matters, which are preserved in the British Museum. They are neither very numerous (fifteen) nor of first-rate importance, but still they give us an opportunity, in several instances, of bringing to light some things hitherto unknown in Pâree literature.

I. Arundel Orient. 54. A copy of the Vandidâd Sâda, the arrangement of the three sacred books, Vandidâd, Yasna, and Vispered, in which the single chapters are mixed together in such a way as to suit the recitation prescribed for the usual worship, similar to the arrangement of the Gospels for the services of the whole year, which we find in the Evangelitaria. Interspersed in the text there are numerous notes in Pahlavî, liturgical directions for the acts that are to be executed in connexion with the text, many of considerable length and more numerous than I find in any of the Vandidâd Sâdas of the Library of the India Office. As they are of great importance for the Pahlavî Dictionary, and specially for its most difficult part, the liturgical terminology, they fully deserve to be edited, for which purpose this MS. would do very well, the whole being in good preservation and clearly written. The following are common in all MS. : او = Pers. تا, "till," "etc.;"

او ن اوسو "till the passage;" او اودن اوسو "to recite to the end;" سو رسلا داون سو "to recite three times;" and the names of both the officiating persons, لاسدن او and سو سو. Of these latter some are to be found in Brockhaus' edition (Leipzig, 1850), while all the others are wanting.

On fol. 148b, at the end, we read شکست زد باد اهریمن دروند "to say thrice: broken, beaten be the wicked, cursed Ahrîman, with all the devs and drujas." Then follows a short chapter (fol. 148b, 149a) in Pâree (Zand character) on the evil eye (*cashm*) and look (*nadara* = نَظَرَة), and their different kinds. The MS. has no colophon; it was probably written in Karmân in the seventeenth, if not the sixteenth century.

II. Reg. 16, B.V. A copy of the Yasna (fol. 158) from Hyde's library, clearly written and well preserved. As usual, the single chapters are separated by two or three stars, smaller portions by a single one. Dated A.D. 1662. The following colophon on fol. 158b. line 5 ff. :—

Yô pentâ yô ashahê ikêtâb êzashnê tmām shûd—rôz amer-dâth mâhâ ardibêhêst sâl avar îakhazârsî az shehenshâh yazdgr sheheryâr ikêtâb nvîstem doâgôe (دعاگوی) kamtrîn hêrvada dârâb bîn hîrâ bîn Jādâ banslê (MS. banslnê = بنسل) móbêdh hôrmaz yâr hêrbûdh rām yâr hrjêkhuānať (Leg. هر که خواند) yâ navîshť yâ âmôzať dōâ âfrî kunať êdûn bāt hûzsnê hûnêshû (هو-نشان) bāt êdûn bāt nekî bāt khuba bāt.

The first words are the beginning of a sentence in Zand (not to be found in the Avastâ), that occurs at the end of several manuscripts. The completest form I know is in the MS. of the India Office Library, Z. and P. 2, p. 700.

Aêvô pañtô yô ashahê vîspê anyâêshâm apañtām shâtô manô vahêstô urvânô.

The first verse, alike in text and translation, we find also in Z. and P. 5, p. 781, and with a different translation in Z. and P. 22, fol. 112, edited by Dr. Justi (Bundehesch Leipzig, 1868, p. xix)¹. Taking *aêvô* (instead of the *yô* of this MS.) as the genuine reading, I translate "single is the path of purity (v. of the pure man), all (the paths) of the others are absence of a path," i.e. they are no path, they lead wrong. *Apañtām* is either the gen. plur. of *apanta*, "having no way, دردم لسن," or the accus. sing. of the abstract *apañtâ*, "absence of way," لسن-ن (arâsis, more correctly arâsish) = *avodîa*. I take to mean "besides," "and," and ²سر equivalent to the Pârsî *han*, though I am well aware

¹ Justi has dropped *vîspê* between *ashahê* and *anyâêshâm*; the Pahlavi translation is accurately this: دردم لسن. دردم لسن. دردم لسن.

دردم لسن. دردم لسن. دردم لسن.

² Instead of سر the other translation has دردم لسن.

that the usual form is **دند**. The second verse I do not venture to translate. The colophon proceeds thus:—

“This book Ezashne was finished on Amerdād, of the month Ardibahisht, in the year 1030 after Yazdagird. I have written this book, the praying, most humble Herbad Dārāb b. Hîrā b. Jāndā, in the family¹ of Mobad Hormazyār son of Herbad Rāmyār. Whosoever reads or writes or learns this, let him say a prayer and blessing. So may it be (*kuzasnē*?) auspicious; so may it be, good and fair.”

III. Add. 18, 396. Another copy of the same work, foll. 199, dated A.D. 1737 in the colophon on folio 199a.

فرچید² پدرود شادی ورامشنی اندر روز شهرپور امشاسفند ماه بهمن
امشاسفند سال اور یکہزار صد و پنج از شاهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار ساسان
تخمہ شهرستان یران³ این کتاب اوستا یزشنہ تمام شد. کاتب حروف
من دین بندہ موبد بہیکہاجی ابن دستور رستم جی بن دستور
بہرام جی لقب سنجانہ پرستار آتش ورہرام ساکن قصبہ نوساری
سرکار سورت داخل کجرات. اندر بلد ہند. ہرکہ خواند وان آموزد
دوعای انوشہ روانی برین بندہ رساند⁴ والسلام. مالک این کتاب سیت
صاحب موبد مانک جی سیت ولد کروتمانی پشم احوانی نوروز جی
سیت ارزانی یاد والسلام.

“Finished to the praise (of God), in joy and gladness, on

¹ The same family is mentioned in the colophon of Z. and P. 17 (a copy of the Yasna with the Sanscrit translation) dated 925 = 1557, and of Z. and P. 2 (dat. 1129 = 1761; pag. 703 **ہورمز دیار رامیار**). By the uniform reading of the MSS., Dr. Justi's conjecture **رامیار** (Bundeh. page xix.) is excluded.

² Both **فرچید** and **فرفت** I am inclined to consider as careless and false readings of **فرچید** (transliterated *paraj peṭ* in Z. and P. 8, last folio). Justi (Bundehesch, p. xix. l. 12) prints twice **فرفت**, where both MSS. have **فرچید**.

³ Leg. **ایران**.

⁴ In this place Indicative and Optative are used promiscuously, **کناد** and **کند**, **رساند** and **رسانان**, etc.

Shahrevâr, of the month Bahman, in the year 1105 after Yazdagird, the Sasanian king of Erân. The copyist am I, the servant of the (true) religion, Mobad Bhikhâjî b. Dastûr Rustamjî b. Dastûr Bahrâmjî, Sunjâna by surname, a worshipper of the fire Bahrâm, an inhabitant of the village of Nausârî, in the district of Sûrat, in Gujarât, India. Whosoever reads or learns this, let him say a prayer for bliss¹ for this servant. The possessor of this book is Mobad Mânakjî, son of the liberal and much esteemed² Naurôzjî, of blessed memory."

IV. Reg. 16. B. vi. (Hyde collection). A copy of the greater part of the Khurda Avastâ, dated 1674, foll. 67. It contains the following pieces:—

Fol.	Fol.
1a. Yathâ ahû vairyo.	1b. Nirañg kustî bastan.
3a. Nirañg dast sôî.	6a. Hôshbâm.
9b. Khurshêd nyâyish	17b. Mihr nyâyish.
20a. Mâh nyâyish.	23a. Nyâyish Ardvisûr.
27. Nyâyish Âtash Bahrâm.	32b. Duâê (Nâm-sitâishn).
35a. Paitaêti (Patet Aderbâd).	45b. Gâh Hâvan.
48a. Gâh Rapithan.	51a. Gâh Uzîran.
53a. G. Aiwisrûthrem.	56a. G. Ushahin.
58b. Nêkâh (نکاح) to fol. 65b.	

Then follows: (leg. حرفهای پازند نوشته است ولیکن باز (پازند. sc. India) خواندن در پنجانب نمی دانیم)

In the concluding chapter, the writer compares the Zand characters with the Persian, treats of the different forms of the Zand characters (at the beginning, middle or end), etc.

Colophon, fol. 67a.: تمت تمام شد این کتاب اوستاوزند و حرفهای پازند و حرفهای اوستاوزند نویسنده هیربد زاده هیربد هرمزبار بن هیربد فرامرز بن هیربد قیامدین بن هیربد کیقباد لقب سنجانه این کتاب بروز انیران بماه اردی بهشت سنه یزدکرد در یک هزار و چهل و دو

¹ Compare Z. and P. 2, p. 703—هر که خواند دعا و آفرین و انوشه روانی
بر کاتب و نویسانده این کتاب برساند

² So translated on folio 201.

بعد از فرمایش کنورچی بن نماهانه (or ناهانه) پهایی مودی نوشته
شد هر که خواند دعا کند¹

"This Avastâ u Zand, with the Pâzand and Avasta-Zand alphabets, was finished and copied by the Herbad's son, Herbad Hormuzyâr b. Herbad Ferâmrûz b. Herbad Kiyâmdîn b. Herbad Kaikobâd, Sunjâna by surname, on Anêrân, in the month of Ardibahisht, in the year of Yazd. 1042, after (!) the order of Konorjî b. Nmâhâna (b. Nâhâna) Phâi Mûdî. Whosoever reads it, let him say a prayer."

The same Herbad Hormuzyâr copied one year later, 1675, the Sad-dar i naẓm, Add. 6998.

V. Add. 8997, foll. 203. *اوستای دارون* Avastâi darûn, a collection of those chapters of the Avastâ, that are recited in the festivals for the deceased, the first of which takes place on the fourth day after the death. On the 30th day, the Yasna is read, and the Darûn Sîrôza, invocations of all the Yazatas, who preside over the single days of the month, over the months, etc. The same ceremony is repeated on every anniversary. This copy is quite modern, written (probably in Persia) partly in Zand, partly in Persian characters. Many pages are stained, the ink in many places nearly blotted out. The whole contains four parts.

1. The particular chapters of the Yasna, arranged somewhat differently from Anquetil's statement.²

Fol.	Fol.
1b. Introductory prayer.	2a. Yasna 3, 1-8; 24-37; 52-60.
10a. Y. 23, 1-9.	12b. Y. 4, 1-28, 42-56.
24a. Y. 37.	25b. Y. 6, 1-22, 39-53.
32a. Y. 26.	37b. Short invocation of the five Gâhs.
38b. 6 Y. 7, 1-29; 43-55.	49b. 5 Y. 7, 59-69.
46b. 7 Y. 23.	53a. A short prayer.
51a. 7 Y. 8, 1-3; 5-9.	55b. 2-10 Y. 4, 53 and a short prayer.
53b. 1 Y. 8, 10-18.	

¹ This phrase, which occurs in the colophon of almost every Parsee MS., has originated from the Greek; it is developed, as usual, through the medium of the Syriac, *ܐܘܨܬܐܝ ܕܐܪܘܢ*, out of the *καὶ οἱ ἀναγιγνώσκοντες εὐχεσθῆ* *μοι κ.τ.λ.* which frequently occurs in Greek MSS.

² See Spiegel's translation of the Avastâ, ii. p. lxxix.

In general, there is omitted the piece corresponding to Yasna 4, 29-41, and the invocations are shortened; besides, there are many other variations from the texts, in accordance with the liturgical purpose of this compilation.

2. Fol. 56a.-149a. The Farvardîn Yasht, invocations of the Fravashis, who exercise the شفاعة (intercession) for all mankind at Ahuramazda's throne. It is usually read on the Farvardîn, Khurdâd, Tîr, Bâd, and on the Gâthâs, the last ten days of the year.

3. Fol. 149a.-169b. The three Âfrîngâns, each preceded by a short introduction. They are also read on the Gâthâs, in commemoration of the deceased.

Âfrîngân Gâhanbâr, fol. 149a.-155b.

Âfr. Gâthâ, fol. 155b.-164b.

Âfr. Rapithwin, fol. 164b.-169b.

4. Fol. 170-203. The Sîrôza. Each prayer or invocation appears in two different redactions, the so-called greater and lesser Sîrôza, one *فہ آیسہ یشتہ* (*i.e.* to *ayêshê yasti*, the beginning of the verses in Yasna 3), the other *فہ یزید میدد* (*i.e.* to *yazamaidê*, compare Yasna 5 and 6). They are substantially identical with those published and translated by Anquetil, Westergaard, and Spiegel.

Fol. 170-173b., the Sîrôza of the thirty days.

173b.-174 (+b.), the same for the months.

174 (+b.)-176a., for the five Farvardiân.

Then follow *Darûns* for special days, a *darûn myazdê gôsfand* (Fol. 180b.), for the seven Amshâsfands (fol. 185a.); lastly, for Amerdâd, Rashnu, Ashtâd, and Zâmyâd (fol. 201a., unfinished).

For a better understanding of this, the following particulars will be useful. The Darûn sacrifice is performed in honour of the seven Amshâsfands, Rashnu râzista, Sraosha and the Fravashis, on the days Mithra of the month Mithra, on Khurdâd of the month Farvardiân, on the Gâhanbârs, on the five last days of the year, and on the fourth day after a death. Three Darûns are offered, one to Rashnu râst and Ashtâd, one to Sraosha, and one to the Fravashis of the pure. The relation of Sraosha, Rashnu râst and Ashtâd to the cere-

mony is, ... they lead the departed souls over the bridge Cinvat.

Of the third part, fol. 194a.-203 is written in Zand, the rest in Persian characters (like the short interspersed prayers in the first part). The MS. has no colophon, but was probably written in Persia towards the end of the last century.

A noticeable fact in this MS., also occurring in several others, is the system of transliteration into Persian characters, applied to Zand texts. That it is a system which, to a certain degree, accurately represents the original, and is unvarying, will be proved by the following details, which may serve also as a help to the rather puzzling task of reading a Zand text in Persian characters.

ا represents sometimes short *a* in fine, مزدا = mazda; ا = u, تهرودینه taurvayêni.

آ = âo in fine, مزدا mazdâo, in medio نیاچو nyâoñco, دروئی تیا سپه drvaityâosca; further = ao in اشانام ashaonâm; â in امشنام ameshanâm, واته ویو vâthwyô, نامه nâma. Âo is also expressed in fine by آعه in تبشاعه tbaêshâo, by آء in فیرکاه pairikâo, and by و in سفدنکبو spananhâo.

ت represents also th وره ترغنم verethraghnem; ته = th واته ویو vâthwyô, ته ویشو thwaêshô.

ج = j; چ = c; خ = kh q; د = d q; ده = dh, ویده ویشته وو vîdhvâêshwtwô.

¹ It may be noticed here, that in Sanscrit, as written by Parsees, the *kh* = *kh* is usually changed into *sh*: hûsht هوخت, minôishirad مینوی خرد. As a curiosity of some interest, I give the Sanscrit colophon of Z. and P. 19 (a copy of the Minôikhirad with Neriosangh's translation), a specimen of many of the kind.

संवत १५७७ व्रषे कार्तिक शुद्धि अष्टमो वार शुक्ले आधह त्री
नागमंडलकरणे पारसी संवत ८५० साल हस्तसवदअजस इन साह
ईजदजरद सहिरीआर रीज रस्तं माह बह्लन उ ॥० पदमापोत्र उ ॥०
महोआरसुतल उ ॥० महिरवान पुस्तक मइनोइधिरद लखितं ए०
पाल्लहणसुत ए० बिहिराम लखावितं ए० यदि आकापि पटयति यदि
आकापि गुणयति यदि आकापि उत्तारयति तस्य कार्ये मया लखितं शुभं
भवतु ॥ हमत ह्रष्ट ह्रअरिस्त ॥

"In the Samvat-year 1577, in the month Kârtika, on the 8th day, in the

Darius sar igabbi: haga gabbi sha atasu, as itzmi sha Ahurmasda etibus. Ahurmasda itsi idannu adi-eli-sha haga ebus. Anaku Ahurmasda litzur anni lapani mimma bishi, u ana biti-ya, u ana mati-ya: haga anaku ana Ahurmasda etirik: Ahurmasda liddinnu!

Ansh! sha Ahurmasda wetahama as-eli-ka la imarru's.

TRANSLATION.

The Chief of the gods is Oromasdes, who created heaven and earth, and created mankind: who gave to men their various fortunes: who made Darius the king of many kings. I am Darius, the great king of kings, the king of the nations of every various tongue: the king of the wide and vast world: the son of Hystaspes the Achæmenian: a Persian, the son of a Persian.

Darius the king says: These are the nations, besides Persia, which I reigned over by the help of Oromasdes. And whatever tribute I commanded them to bring, they brought it. And whatever from me was told to them to do, they did so. And all my laws they observed. Media: Susia: Parthia: *Aria?*: Bactria: Sogdia: Chorasnia: Zarangia: Arachotia: Sattagydia: Kandaria: India: the Namri: the Amurgi: the Namri who wear gloves on their hands: Babylonia: Assyria: Arabia: Egypt: Armenia: Cappadocia: Saparda: the Ionians of all the tribes who have fixed their dwellings on the hither side of the sea: the other Ionians who wear helmets on their heads: the Budians: the Kusu: the and the

Darius the king says: Oromasdes, when he had compelled these nations to serve him, spoke to me and said: "Now that I have given them to thee, let them be united to thee as if they were thy brothers!"

And I became king over them. And so long as I have been their king, by the help of Oromasdes, I have kept them all firmly in their places. And whatever I told them to do, that they did. And they desired whatever I myself desired.

O my successor on my royal throne! when in future times thou shalt speak thus: "Lo! the nations have risen in rebellion. whose ancestors were conquered by Darius the king!"

Then shalt thou instantly restrain them by force. In that day, each one of thy subjects who carries the long Persian spear, shall advance with it! In that day, each one of thy subjects shall draw his long Persian scymitar from its scabbard!

Darius the king says: All this that I have done, by the power of Oromasdes I did it. Oromasdes gave me help when I did these things. May Oromasdes protect me from everything that is evil, both my family and my country. This thing I have prayed to Oromasdes, and may Oromasdes grant it!

O man!¹ whatever thing Oromasdes has commanded, let it not be neglected by thee!²

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT.

I will now give each line with an interlinear Latin translation of it. It will then be seen clearly to what words of the text the explanatory notes apply.

1. Ilim rabu Ahurmasda, sha shamie u kiti ibnu:
Deorum summus Oromasdes qui cælum et terram creavit
2. sha nishi ibnu: sha tuki^a ana nishi iddinu: sha ana
*qui homines creavit qui fortunam hominibus dedit qui
cujusque*
3. Dariaus sar sha sarin madut ibnu. Anaku
Darium regem regum multorum creavit. Ego sum
4. Dariaus sar rabu, sar sarin, sar mati
Darius rex summus rex regum rex regionum
5. sha kharkhar lishan gabbi, sar ebgar^b rukta rabita
diversarum linguarum omnium rex terræ longæ(et) vastæ
6. pal^c Vastaspa Akhamanisia: Parsaya tur Parsaya.
filius Hystaspis Achæmenii Persicus filius Persici

^a *tuki*. A great many conjectures have been offered respecting this unknown word. Some have translated "qui vitam hominibus dedit," but this differs too little in meaning from the preceding phrase "qui homines creavit." Others

¹ The king here apparently speaks again to his successor.

² There is one more line, which has become illegible.

render it "who hath given food to men." And many other things might be suggested.

But if we consider *the sequence of ideas* we shall see that they are:—

1. Ormuzd is the greatest of the gods.
2. He created Heaven and Earth.
3. He created Men.
4. All their various fortunes are dependent on his will.
5. And he has willed that Darius should be king of the world.

Thus there is nothing superfluous in this solemn exordium, as the mention of "food" would assuredly be.

Tuki much resembles the Greek word *Τυχη*. I am in doubt whether the resemblance is accidental or not. There is some difficulty in supposing that this Greek word could be adopted into the Assyrian language; but, on the other hand, there had been intercourse between the two nations long before the age of Darius.

^b *ebgar*. The second sign in this word denotes *gar* in the Achaemenian inscriptions. It differs in form from that employed in the Khorsabad and other inscriptions of the earlier age. *Ebgar*, like the Latin *terra*, has a wide extent of meaning; from the world itself, or *orbis terrarum*, down to a handful of earth or dust. The Hebrew word corresponding is *ephar* עֶפֶר which means (1) earth, dust, or clay; (2) terra, orbis terrarum, the World: as in Job xix. 25, and several other places (see Ges. 785).¹

^c *Pal* or *Pol* (filius), is often written *Aplu*.

7. Dariaus sar igabbi: as itzmi^a sha

Darius rex dicit in potentia

8. Ahurmazda, anniti mati sha anaku asibat,^b elat^c

Oromasdis hæ sunt regiones quibus ego imperavi præter

9. matu Parsu. Anaku as-eli-sun sha aldaku^d mandatta anassi^e

terram Persidem. Ego illis quod jussi tributum afferre

10. inassun:^f sha lapani-ya-attua iggabū-assun ana apus-su

afferebant quod à me ipso dictum fuit illis ad-faciendum-id

11. ibbussua, u dinat attua ikhaslua.^g

faciebant et leges meas observabant

^a *itzmi*, the oblique case of *itzm*, or *itzum*, which is the Hebrew עֵז עֵז *itzum*, robor (Ges. 788); therefore, as *itzmi* signifies "in the strength," or "by the help," of Oromasdes.

^b *asibat*. 1st person singular from the verb *shebet*, to reign or govern. So

¹ I may remind the reader that the edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon referred to is the Latin edition, Leipsic, 1833.

in Hebrew שֵׁפֶט *shebt*, or *shept*, is a king's sceptre. Gesenius says, and it is manifest, that this is cognate with the Greek word σκηπτρον.

^c *elat*, besides or beyond; from the preposition *eli*, beyond.

^d *aldaku* seems related to the common verb *altakan*, I commanded or appointed.

^e *anassi*, to bring; from נָשָׂא *nasa*, which Gesenius, p. 690, renders in Latin *attulit*, *apportavit*, and in German *bringen*.

^f *inassun*, they brought; 3rd person plural preterite of the same verb.

^g *ikhashua*. This verb is unknown to me; I take it, as well as the translation, *observabant*, from Rawlinson's transcription.

12. Madaya: Nuvaki: Partu: Arimu: Bakhtar: Sukdu: Khubarisma:
Media Susia Parthia Aria Bactria Sogdia Chorasmiä

13. Zaranga: Arukhattia:^a Satgusu: Kandari:^b
Zarangia Arachotia Sattagydia Candaria

14. Indu: Nammirri Humurga: Nammirri^c karbul suti-sun raphua:^d
India Namri dicti Amurgü

15. Babel: Ashur: Arabi:

^a *Arukhattia* may mean "the Rocky Mountains." *Ar* (which would be *Aru* before a guttural) is the Hebrew אֶרֶץ a mountain (so in Greek *opog*). *Ar* occurs frequently in the inscriptions in the names of mountainous localities. Armenia (called in Scripture *Minni*) is probably *Ar-minni*, meaning the mountains of Minni.

khattiti signifies *broken rocks* in the inscription of Bellino, from Heb. כָּתַת *fregit*, of which the primitive form is כָּת or *khat*. Hence *Aru-khatti* may be the rocky mountains."

^b *Kandari* I would identify with the modern Candahar.

^c The *Namri* are frequently mentioned. I suspect that the word originally merely meant "highlanders," and was therefore applied to various tribes, not necessarily of the same stock. Gesenius says that *amra* was an ancient obsolete term for a *mountain*, and thence he derives the name of the Amorites of Palestine. *Namar* in the inscriptions sometimes seems to signify a *hill*.

^d In ancient times the different races of men had widely different modes of dress. But generally the same dress was worn by the whole nation; therefore foreigners often called them by a name descriptive of their dress, ignoring the true or native name of the country. Thus we find a tribe called by the Greeks Μελαγχλαῖναι, or *Black Cloaks*, and they are still called by the Turks the *karakalpaks*, which has the same meaning. Sir G. Wilkinson found among the ruins of Thebes a sculptured procession of foreigners bearing gifts, and among these the Rebo, an Asiatic people, were represented as bringing, among other things, a tribute of *gloves*; showing that they were a people inhabiting a cold country, and that the article was somewhat unusual, and was accounted curious (see Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 153). In our inscription the *Namri* are described as *karbul suti-sun raphua*, an obscure phrase. First I think that *raphua* must represent the Heb.

verb *rapha* רָפָא to sew (Ges. 945), which is obviously the same as the Greek verb *ραπτειν*, to sew; whence *ραφη*, a seam; *ραφισ*, a needle, &c. The sense then is, that the Namri *sewed something together*. And they did this *sutisun*, "for their hands." Hence I conjecture that *harbul* must mean *skins*, or something of that sort. I do not find this word in Hebrew, but in Chaldee *kalpa* means *leather* (Buxtorf, p. 2049). In Turkish *kabuk* is a *covering*, also a crust or rind. But these terms are not sufficiently near to the word in the text, which must therefore be left for future enquiry.

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16. Mitsur: Hurasda: Katpadukka: Saparda: Yavanu
Egyptus Armenia Cappadocia Saparda Iones
17. gimirri,^a sha akhi^b ulluya sha marrata bit iskuduru:
omnes qui in litore citeriore maris domum incolunt
18. Yavanu shanutu, sha maginat^d as reshdu-sun nasu: Buda:
Iones alii qui galeas in capite suo portant Buda
19. Kusu: Issidu: Karsa.
Kusu Issidu Karsa

^a *gimirri*, Hebrew גִּמְרִי *gimîr*, whole, entire, complete.

^b *akhi*, juxta (fluvium vel mare); ripa fluminis; litus maris. It is frequent in the inscriptions.

^c *iskuduru*, hitherto taken for the name of some nation, appears to me to be a verb in the 3rd person plural, meaning *they inhabit*. קִדֹּר *kudur* is to inhabit; also the inner part of a house, &c. קִדְרֵי תִמָּן *kuluri teman*, the habitations of the South, Job ix. 9 (see Ges. 321). This verb in the *sha*, or causative conjugation, would be *skudur*, to make or build a habitation.

^d *maginat*, helmets. This is a very interesting passage. It is the plural of the Hebrew word *maginna* מַגִּנָּה any kind of defensive armour (see Ges. 544). This comes from מָגַן *magan*, armour; whence אִישׁ מָגַן *aish magan*, vir armatus. And this is from the root גָּן *gan*, redupl. גָּנָן *ganan*, to cover and protect. The strong cap or helmet which the Greeks used for a protection for the head, was called by them *κυνη*. This has been erroneously derived from *κυων*, and consequently affirmed to have been made of dog skin, although Homer says, *παγχαλκος κυνη*. But there is very little doubt that *κυνη* was an Eastern word, a mere variation of the Hebrew גָּן *gan*, or *gun*, to protect. So the English word *hat* meant originally a covering or protection. This will be evident, if we consider the German *hut*, which has both meanings. A curious illustration of this is seen in the German word *finger hut* (a thimble), literally a *finger-hat*, a cap or protection for the finger.

20. Darius sar igabbi: Ahurmasda ki^a imuru^b mati
Darius rex dicit Oromasdes quando subjugavit regiones
anniti nikra-ma^c
has dicit mihi
21. ana sibbi akhati^d summukhu,^e arki anaku iddannu assiniti.
in loco fratrum tene firmiter postquam ego dedi (tibi) eas.
22. Va anaku as-eli-sin ana sarut eptivas.^f Anni^g anaku sar,
et ego super eas regnavi. Quamdiu ego rex fui
as itzmi
in potentia
23. Ahurmasda anaku as ashri-sin valtisib^h sinati. Va sha
Oromasdis ego in locis suis firmiter tenui eas Et quod
24. anaku agabu, assinat ibbusua: tsibbuⁱ sha anaku tsibaka.^j
ego dixi ea fecerunt: voluerunt quod ego volui.

^a *ki*, when; so in line 25.

^b *imuru*. 3rd person preterite, from the verb *amar*, עָמַר subject, servum fecit (Ges. 779). The original meaning of this Hebrew verb was to bind.

^c *nikra-ma*, said to me. *Nikra* is a kind of *niphal* form of Hebrew *kara*, קָרָא to call, or speak aloud; which verb is usually employed when gods speak to men. *Nikra-ma*, he said to me; like *iddina-ma*, he gave to me; *surka-ma*, grant to me! &c.

^d Plural form, from Hebrew אָח *akh*, a brother.

^e *summukhu*, be joined! be united! from Hebrew *semek* סָמַך cohesit, conjunctus fuit (Ges. 717). Adjective, *semuk* סָמֹך firmus. And parties allied by treaty, are called, סָמְכִי *semuki* in Hebrew.

^f *eptivas*; a doubtful word. *Sarut ebus*, he reigned (literally *regnum fecit*), is a common phrase. This, with the verb in another conjugation, might become *sarut eptivas*.

^g *Anni* (adverb), quamdiu. This is the Hebrew אָן *an*, otherwise אָנָה *anah*, quamdiu, so long as, ever since (see Ges. 78).

^h *valtisib* is one of the conjugations of the verb *sib*, to place, otherwise *asib*. Likewise *sib* and *asib* are substantives, meaning a place. In Hebrew, the verb is שָׁב *collocare*, in loco suo ponere, &c.; whence שִׁיבָה *domicilium*.

ⁱ *tsibbu*, they wished. From Chaldee *tsiba* צָבָה to wish; whence substantive, *tsibu* צָבָה a wish (Ges. 852). In another inscription, Darius says of these same nations: *tsibbu sha anaku bilemi ashkunussun*: THEY WISHED that I should enact laws for them."

^j *tsibaka*, I wished. This grammatical form seems peculiar to the Assyrian. Thus from *kabitta* or *kapta*, strong, we have *kaptaka*, "I am strong;" and there are many other examples of this form.

25. Va ki^a tagabbu umma: "mati annita ikishua^b
Et cum dixeris ita "regiones hæ pugnans (et)
ikitashua^c
bellum gerunt (mecum)
26. sha Dariaus sar zir (.....) sun amuru:^d sha guza attua
quas Darius rex stirpem patrum eorum subjugavit throni mei
27. naka,^e as sibbi tamasik^f sunuta.
rex illicò firmâ manu illas
prehendes

^a ki, quando; as in line 20.

^b ikishua, "they have struck a blow;" 3rd person plural, preterite of *nakash* נָקַשׁ (Ges. 688). The initial N of verbs is usually dropped; as from *nassik*, to kiss, comes *issiku*, they kissed. From *natan*, to give, *attan*, I gave, &c. The same change is very frequent in Hebrew. But the reading *ikishua* is not very certain. In Westergaard's copy the first sign is >|<| This probably should be altered to >|<| or *ik*.

^c *ikitashua*, "they have fought a battle;" 3rd person plural preterite of *katash* כָּתַשׁ to fight (see Gesenius and Schaaf, p. 287, who renders it *contendit*, *certavit*, *bellum gessit*).

^d *amuru*, subjugavit; from Hebrew עָמַר *servum facere*, subjugare. This verb has already occurred in line 20.

^e *naka*, is an old Persian word for a king; perhaps related to the Greek *αναξ*, *anax*; as the old word *ner*, a man, is to *avne*; *nam* in Persian (*nomen* in Latin) to *ονομα*, &c.

^f *tamasik*, thou shalt seize, coerce, or restrain; 2nd person future, from Heb. *masik* מָשַׁךְ cepit, prehendit (Ges. 627).

28. As tamisu yim^a ildakka^b sha amilu^c Parsaya
in die illo unusquisque gentis tuæ qui gestat Persicam
ashmar-su^d ruku yallik.^e As tamisu
hastam suam longam prodibit. In die illo
- 29 yim ildakka shanshu^f Parsaya ruku valtu bit-su^g
unusquisque gentis tuæ ensem Persicum longum e vaginâ suâ
shalut^h inasu's.ⁱ
extractum portabit

^a *yim* or *gim*, every one. The same as the Hebrew יָמִין (see Ges. 216), e.g. *gim kol*, every one; *gim shanim*, each of the two.

^b *ildak-ka*, thy people; literally "thy children." For *ilda-ka*, by accentuating the final syllable. From *ild* יָלַד a child, also a young man; here it probably means a young man of military age. All the youth of Persia are summoned to the defence of the empire.

^c *amilu*, Hebrew עָמַל *amil*, to carry something that is heavy or laborious, to exercise it strenuously, &c. The sign preceding the word *amilu* is, I think, a mistake for *sha* (who).

^d *ashmar*, a spear. This is a most important word, and one which throws the greatest light on the whole sense of this inscription. Fortunately we have decisive proof that such is the meaning. For in the Museum of the Louvre, at Paris, there is a sculptured hunting scene, representing king Ashur-bani-pal seizing a lion by the ear and piercing him with his spear; and the inscription says "as ASHMAR eda suti-ya, assilik zukhar su:" with my SPEAR in my hand I destroyed his life.

As this curious inscription is a short one, I have added the whole of it as an Appendix to the present paper. It is important to observe that the cuneiform sign prefixed to *Parsaya* does not here mean "a man." It is merely the customary gentile sign, indicating that *Parsaya* is a proper name of a nation. If a Persian horse were spoken of, the same sign would be prefixed to *Parsaya*.

^e *Yalik*, future of Hebrew הָלַךְ *halek*, to advance.

^f *shansh*, a scymitar. A very ancient and widely diffused word. The old Egyptians said *shopsh* (see the hieroglyphics). It was the same in Coptic. Other ancient nations seem to have pronounced it shafsh, shamsh, shansh. Afterwards it became *shafshir* שַׁפְשִׁיר in Chaldee and Syriac, but *shamshir* שַׁמְשִׁיר in Persian. The additional syllable *shir*, is doubtless the Assyrian *shir*, longus vel magnus. So in Gaelic, the claymore is derived from *clay* (a sword, *glaiwe* in French), and *more*, great. The Greeks mentioned it as a kind of oriental sword, and call it by its native name, *σαμψηρα*,—see Schaaf, p. 393, respecting these words.

This is the word which appears to me to occur in the text. It will be observed that where the Persian *spear* is spoken of, the adjective *Parsaya* is preceded by the *gentile* sign; but here, where the *sword* is spoken of, it is preceded by two such signs. The explanation of this is, that the first of these signs does not belong to the adjective *Parsaya* at all, but is the final syllable of the preceding word. Its value is *ansh*. When it stands alone, it signifies "a man;" in Heb. *ansh* אִישׁ (Ges. 81). Therefore, the word for a *sword* is composed of two signs, *sha* and *ansh*; together *shansh*.

^g *bit-su*, its dwelling-place; its house. But the dwelling-place of a sword is its scabbard.

^h *shalut*, drawn out. Participle of Hebrew שָׁלַח *shala*, to draw out. The verbs שָׁלַל and נָשַׁל *nashal* (whose future is *ishal* יִשָּׁל), are nearly related to the first-mentioned one. Gesenius renders them all by the Latin *extraxit*.

ⁱ *inasu's* for *inasu-su* (an usual form of contraction), *portabit eum*; from נָשָׂא *nash*, to carry, a verb in very common use. But the reading is very uncertain, the word being partly destroyed on the stone. Perhaps it should be read *imasu's*, "*extrahet eum*," from מָסַח *masah*, *extraxit* (Ges. 693).

30. Darius sar igabbi: haga gabbi sha atasu,^a as itzmi sha
Darius rex dicit hoc omne quod feci in potentia

31. Ahurmasda etibus. Ahurmasda itsi idannu
Oromasdis feci Oromasdes robur dedit

32. adi-eli-sha^b haga ebus. Anaku Ahurmasda litzur anni
quando hoc feci Me Oromasdes protegat
33. lapani mimma^c bishi,^d u ana biti-ya, u ana mati-ya.
à quocunque malo et domum meam et patriam meam
 Haga anaku
Hoc ego
34. Ana Ahurmasda etirik:^e Ahurmasda liddinnu!
Oromasdem precor Oromasdes concedat
35. Ansh! sha Ahurmasda wetahama, as-eli-ka la imarru's!
O Homo quod Oromasdes jubet à te ne negligatur

^a *atasu*, I have made, is the T conjugation of *asah* עשה to make.

^b *adi-eli-sha*, means "when." See the Behistun inscription, line 109 :—
 . . . itti-ya iturua ADI-ELI-SHA anaku ana Gumati . . . "Only these men
 were with me WHEN I killed Gomates." I may here remark that this verb, *iturua*,
 has not yet been explained. It signifies *they remained* (with me): from יתר
itur, to remain. Gesenius, p. 456, renders it *remansit* : relictus est.

^c *mimma*, anything. This word is written in many various ways: e.g.,
manma, &c.

^d *bish*, evil; a very common word in Syriac. Is it not possible that the Latin
vitium may descend from a common root with this Syriac word?

^e *etirik*. This reading is uncertain. It may be *etirish*. The Cuneiform signs
 𐎶𐎶 *ish*, and 𐎶𐎵 *ka*, are frequently confused together in this and the
 other Achæmenian inscriptions. There is a slight difference between them, the
 ends of the first two wedges being prolonged in *ka*, so as to be seen between the
 last two wedges. But when from lapse of time or careless writing this becomes
 obliterated, the signs coincide and the true reading must be determined from the
 context.

APPENDIX.

INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-BANI-PAL,

Preserved at Paris.

IN the Museum of the Louvre there is a tablet, representing
 King Ashur-bani-pal seizing a Lion by the ear, and killing him with
 a spear. It is accompanied by the following inscription :—

"Anaku Ashur-bani-pal sar kishat, sar Ashur, as sutakhiti-ya
 as niri-ya urmakh itzu sha gabir su, as 𐎶𐎵—|| su ashbit, as
 kuti Ashur u Ishtar billat takhazi, as ashmar eda suti-ya assilik
 zukhar-su."

I, Ashur-bani-pal, king of the nations, king of Assyria, in my great courage fighting on foot with a Lion, terrible from his size, seized him by the ear, and in the name of Ashur and Ishtar, goddess of war, with my spear in my hand, I terminated his life.

From this short inscription we learn the meaning of several words, and obtain a confirmation of others previously known. Thus, *urmakh* signifies a *Lion* (though probably that is not the correct pronunciation of the word).

𐎶𐎶- *pi*, the face (Hebrew פֶּה of the same meaning). When it has two cross lines added, thus—

𐎶𐎶-|| signifies an *Ear*: the two lines evidently implying the two ears.

Ashmar is certainly a *spear*. It has the sign for *wood* prefixed to it (as in the Nakshi Rustam inscription).

The translation of *sutakhuti* "courage" is only conjectural.

Itzu is the Hebrew עֶזָּה *itzah*, strong (Ges. 787). It is used frequently in the inscriptions for "terrible," or "very powerful," as an epithet of weapons; and it occurs continually in the Achæmenian inscriptions in the phrase *itzi idanmu*, he gave me strength. A nearly related word is עֶזֶם *itzum*, fortis, robustus, potens. This epithet is actually applied to a Lion in Psalm x, 10.

gabir is used as an epithet of all objects that are exceedingly great. I think it is either the Hebrew גָּבִיר *gabir*, magnus: or כָּבֵד *kabir*, of the same meaning.

eda is, I think, the Hebrew preposition אֶת which signifies *with*, *in*, &c. And is also nearly related to the very common Assyrian preposition *itti*, "with."

assilik may mean "I terminated;" from a common Chaldee word, *silik*, terminus (see Buxtorf).

Zukhar is *life*. The word occurs in the British Museum Volume, pl. 42, line 17, where a battle is described, and the chiefs of the enemy, like frightened birds, *zukhar-sun usiku*, escaped for their lives.

As I have referred to this inscription in the first part of this paper as authority for the meaning of *ashmar*, a spear, which is a most important word for the interpretation of the Nakshi Rustam inscription, I have here added it in full. The Cuneiform text is given in the new volume published by the British Museum, pl. 7, No. IX, b.; but I do not understand from this, whether a duplicate

exists in the British Museum, or whether it has been copied at Paris.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

One of the most curious things in this inscription is the allusion to the peculiar dresses of the Ionians and the Namri. Similar short notices occur elsewhere. Thus, in the annals of Ashurakhbal (col. 2. line 75), a certain nation is spoken of, "*sha kima shalat shabruni*," who wear long flowing robes like women. This word is derived from the *shabla*, Hebrew שבל and the same in Arabic, which Gesenius (p. 978) renders *syрма*: [Συρμα is a robe with a long train: from συρω, traho]. This nation may have had some affinity with the old Ionians, whose original seats were undoubtedly in Asia. For, when Homer describes the dress of the ancient Athenians, he paints it in a single word: *Ιαονας ἐλκεχιτῶνας*. This epithet conveys the idea of a very singular costume, for men: the more so, that the dress of the Trojan women is described by a very similar epithet: *Αἰδεομαι Τρωας καὶ Τρωάδας ἐλκεσιπεπλους*.

The translation of line 20 is unsatisfactory. The final sign $\Xi\Upsilon$ is probably an error for $\Xi\Upsilon$ which has one stroke less. If we make this alteration we obtain the word *nikrat*, "foreigners:" from Hebrew נכר alienus, peregrinus. This word *nikrat* is frequent in the Behistun inscription. The phrase will then stand thus: *Ahurmasda ki imuru mati anniti nikrat, ana sibbi akhati isummuku arki anaku iddannu assiniti*. "When Oromasdes had subdued these foreign nations, he joined them [to me] by treaties of friendship, after he had given them to me."

Akhati is the usual word for treaties of alliance: it comes from *akh*, a brother: because allied nations become as it were brothers to each other.

Ana sibbi occurs frequently instead of the simple preposition *ana*. *Isummukh*, he joined together, or made a close alliance. The initial vowel of this word is absorbed by the final *i* of the preceding word *akhati*.

Anaku iddannu, mihi dedit. *Anaku* is indeclinable. It generally means *Ego*, but in line 32 it stands for *Me*: (*anaku litzur*, me protegat). And here it apparently stands for *Mihi*.

ART. X.—*On the Indian Embassies to Rome from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian.* By OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX, Esq.

AFTER the Singhalese embassy to Claudius, the Indian embassies to Rome were few and far between. To the death of Justinian, A.D. 565, four only have been noticed, and barely noticed, by historians. The first, to Trajan,¹ was present with him at the great shows which he offered to the Roman people, A.D. 107. The second, to Antoninus Pius,² A.D. 138, 161, came to pay homage to his virtues. The third, to Julian,³ though intended, Zonaras asserts, for Constantius, reached him, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, before it was expected, A.D. 361, and included ambassadors from the Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (the Singhalese), who now for the first time appear under their own name, and the name by which they were known to the Arabs. And the fourth, to Justinian,⁴ brought him gifts, and was at Constantinople, A.D. 530.

These are but scant memorials of petty diplomatic courtesies, and scattered as they are over nearly 500 years, they do little to illustrate the intercourse between Rome and India, which, during

¹ Προς δε τον Τραιανον ες την Ρωμην ελθοντα πλεισται οσαι πρεσβειαι παρα βαρβαρων αλλως τε και Ινδων αφικοντο· και θεας . . . εποησεν εν αις θηρια . . . χιλια και μυρια εσφαγη· οτι ο Τραιανος τους παρα των βασιλεων αφικνουμενους εν τω βουλευτικω θεασασθαι εποει.—Dio. Cassius, L. 68, 156; II. 313 p. Bekker.

² "Quin etiam Indi Bactriani Hyrcani legatos miserunt justitiâ tanti imperatoris compertâ."—Aurelian Victor, Epit. xvi.

³ Perinde timore ejus adventus . . . legationes undique solito ocus concurrebant . . . nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus abusque Divis et Serendivis, Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii., 7, 277, p. i; but Zonaras Εχρηματιζει δε και πρεσβεισιν εκ διαφορων εθνων σταλειςι προς τον Κωνσταντιον.

⁴ Εν παντω δε τω χρονω (A.D. 530.) και πρεσβευτης Ινδων μετα δωρων κατεπεμθη εν Κωνσταντινουπολει, when John of Cappodicia (v. Smith, Biog. Dict.) was prætorian exarch. Malala, p. 477.

the first half of these long centuries, reached its highest point of development, while during the last it had so fallen away that, in so far as it was direct, it may be regarded as extinct. Of that intercourse I now propose to give a rapid sketch.

The discovery of the monsoons, and the distracted state of the Parthian Empire had, at the beginning of the second half of the first century, the close of Claudius' reign, driven the whole of the trade between the East and West to the great city of Alexandria.¹ Its people, quick-witted, but restless of disposition and excitable of temper, grew wealthy, and grew insolent as they grew wealthy. The person and character of the sovereign was a favourite theme for their ridicule;² and on every slight occasion, when not taken up with factious fights among themselves, they rose in tumult against their governors, and sometimes even in revolt against the State. The emperors looked upon them with no friendly eye. And it was, perhaps, as much to abate their insolence as to forward the interests of trade, that Hadrian put an end to their monopoly, and admitted Palmyra into the commercial system of the Roman Empire.³ Under his patronage, and that of his successors, the Antonines,⁴ who lived

¹ Dio Chrysostom, time of Trajan, speaks of it as second only to Rome, *πολις δευτερα των υπο τον ηλιον*, Oratio xxxii., 669, 70 p; while Cosmas calls it *Μεγιστη πολις*.—Montfaucon, *Nova Collectio Patrum*, I., 124.

² See Hadrian's letter to the Consul Servianus in Flavius Vopiscus: "Genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, impurissimum: civitas opulenta dives fecunda . . . utinam melius esset movata civitas . . . huic ego cuncta concessi . . . et in filium Verum multi dixerunt, et de Antinoo quæ dixerunt comperisse te credo."—Augustæ Scriptores, 234, II. Dio Chrysostom speaks of the turbulent sneers, and mocks, and angry hisses with which they greeted both king and private man, *οὐκ εἶδισα τον ὑμετερον θρονον, ουδε τον γελωτα, ουδε την οργην, ουδε συριγμους, ουδε τα σκωμματα οἷς παντας εκπληττετε . . . και ιδιωτην και βασιλεα*, id., p. 664; and that this had estranged the emperors we may gather from p. 687, *εις υποψιαν αυτους καθ' ὧμων ηγαγετω*. Also p. 700, Reiske ed. And Ammianus Marcellinus "Sed Alexandria in internis seditionibus diu aspere fatigata."—xxii., 16 §, 207 p.

³ Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopedie*, art. Palmyra. Not, however, forgetting that between India and Palmyra trade already existed; for Trajan, having descended the Tigris, *ἐπ' αυτον τον Ωκεανον ελθων . . . και πλοιον τι ες Ινδιαν πλεον ιδων*.—Cassius, L. 67, c. 28.

⁴ Of works treating of India belonging to this period we have—The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (A.D. 81, 96); Prolog. de Auct. Perip., p. xcvi., L. Geog. Minor, ed. Didot—a manual of Roman, or rather Egyptian, trade with India; a really original work, the result of the author's own observation and experience as a merchant and supercargo. The Geography of Ptolemy (A.D. 138, 161), the first work which makes the circuit of Ceylon, and names the harbours and headlands on its coast, its rivers, mountains, and towns. The Expedition of Alexander and the Indica of Arrian (A.D. 150, 160), both compilations, but the compilations

much in the East, and followed out, we have every reason to believe, his policy, Palmyra rapidly developed the advantages which it derived from its position on the nearest route to India. It flourished and grew daily in importance. And when Emesa, almost on its frontiers, and on its high road to Antioch and Damascus, gave to Rome Julia Domna, the wife of one Emperor, Severus, and the mother of another, Commodus, and afterwards two Emperors, Elagabalus and Alexander: sated with wealth it aspired to illustrate itself by other than the arts of commerce; it began to levy or hire armies; it made conquests and acquired territory; it became a power, and for a moment held with Rome divided empire.¹

During the reigns of Severus, his son Commodus, and the pseudo-Antonines, when Alexandria and Palmyra were both occupied with commerce and were both prosperous, Roman intercourse with India was at its height. Then Roman literature gave more of its attention to Indian matters, and did not, as of old, confine itself to quotations from the historians of Alexander or the narratives of the Seleucidian ambassadors, but drew its information from other and independent sources. Then Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 192, 217), thus wrote of the Gymnosophists. They are, he says, Sarmanai, or Brahmins. Of the Sarmanai, the Allobioi neither dwell in cities nor under a roof, but "wear a vesture of bark," and live on acorns, and drink water from their hands, and know neither marriage nor the

of a man of sense and critical acuteness—the one made up from the cotemporary histories of Alexander, the other from the narratives of Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, and Nearchus. We have besides notices of India and Indian manners scattered through several of the numerous treatises of Plutarch and the orations of Dion Chrysostom (A.D. 100), and a longer, and somewhat satirical description of India in his *Oratio in Coelenis Phrygiæ*; but both drew their information from the common storehouse; and Dion, in his *India*, as the true *pays de Cocagne*, merely throws together in one piece the various Indian myths which Ctesias so willingly collected and believed. Among the writers of this age we may also, though with some hesitation, class Q. Curtius (Smith's *Biog. Dict.*, 1 v.), and Dionysius *Periegetes* (*Geog. Min. Proleg.*, 18 p. II., Didot); but neither had of himself any knowledge of India. The first merely copied and compiled from the old historians of Alexander, and the second, as well in his *Bassarika* as in his *Periegesis*, is *original*? only in so far as he connects the known country of India with the exploits of Bacchus. He says of himself—

cu γαρ μοι βιος εστι μελαιναων επι νηων
ουδε μοι εμπορη πατρωιος, ουδ' επι Γαγγην
ερχομαι, οια τε πολλοι.—709 vv.

¹ See de Odenato XIV., the Duo Gallieni III., the Claudius XII., Trigint. Tyran., Trebeli. Pollio., and Aurelian's letter to the Senate, excusing the appearance of Zenobia in his triumphal procession. Vopisci, *Hist. Aug. Script.*, and note 2 to 32 c., vii. L., of Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.*, Heinichen's ed.

procreation of children. And they are *the* Indians¹ who obey the precepts of Boutta: and him for his exceeding majesty they honour as a god. And in another place, but on the authority of Alexander Polyhistor, he tells of the Brahmans,² how they neither drink wine nor eat of animal food; how some of them break fast daily, others but once in three days;³ how from their belief in a second birth, *παλιγγενεσιαν*, they despise death and are indifferent to life; and how they worship Hercules and Pan. He says, further, that those called Semnoi go naked, and cultivate truth, and foretel the future, and worship a pyramid which is supposed to cover the bones of a god; and that neither Gymnosophists nor Semnoi marry, because marriage they look upon as contrary to law and nature, and they therefore keep themselves chaste; and that there are Semnoi women who also devote themselves to a virgin life; he adds that they observe the heavenly bodies, and through them foretel the future.

The name and precepts of Buddha, and the worship of the pyramid topos, recorded in these passages, are to be found in no other ancient writer whatever. If derived originally from Megasthenes, as is supposed, it is strange that they have escaped the notice of Plutarch and Porphyry, curious in such matters; and still more strange that, as characteristic of one of the great religions of India, they should have been passed over by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus,

¹ In general rendered "And there are Indians," &c. I subjoin the whole passage:—*Καὶ τῶν Σαρμανῶν οἱ Ἀλλοβιοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι, οὐτε πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, οὐτε στεγὰς ἔχουσιν, δένδρων δὲ ἀμφιέννυνται φλοιῶς (Menu vi., 6 §); καὶ ἀκροδρῦα σιτύνονται καὶ ὕδωρ ταῖς χερσὶ πίνουσιν· οὐ γάμον, οὐ παιδοποιῶν ἴσασιν, ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν Εὐκρατῆται καλούμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ τοῖς Βουττα πειθόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν· τὸν δὲ εἰ ὑπερβολὴν σεμνοτήτος εἰς Θεὸν τέτιμηκασιν.*—*Stromata*, I. xv. I beg attention to the ambiguity of the last paragraph.

² *Βραχμαὶ . . . οὐτε ἐμψυχὸν ἐσθίουσιν, οὐτε οἶνον πίνουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὥς ἡμεῖς, τὴν τροφήν προσιένται· ἐνιοὶ δ' αὐτῶν, δια τριῶν ἡμέρων, ὥς φησὶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολύιστος ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδικαῖς· καταφρονεῖσι δὲ θανάτου, καὶ παρ' οὐδεν ἡγούνται το ζῆν'· πεῖθονται γὰρ εἶναι παλιγγενεσιαν· οἷδε σεβουσίην Ἡρακλῆα καὶ Πανα· οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Σεμνοὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, γυμνοὶ διαίτῳνται τὸν πάντα βίον· οὗτοι τὴν ἀληθειᾶν ἀσκούσι καὶ περὶ τῶν μέλλοντων περιμηννοῦσι, καὶ σεβουσί τινὰ πυραμίδα ὑφ' ἣν ὅσπερ τινοῦ Θεοῦ νομίζουσιν ἀποκεισθαι. οὐτε δὲ οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ, οὐθ' οἱ λεγόμενοι Σεμνοὶ, γυναῖξιν χρωνται· παρα φύσιν γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ νομὸν δοκοῦσι δι' ἣν αἰτίαν σφας ἀγνοῦσι τήρουσι· παρθεμενοῦσι δὲ καὶ Σεμναί. δοκοῦσι παρατηρεῖν τὰ οὐρανια, καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων σημειώσεως τῶν μέλλοντων προμαντευέσθαι τινὰ.*—*ib.* iii., vii.

³ In the *Prabodhatschandrodaja* is an allusion to this observance. The scholar asks of his master why the observers of religious rites eat but one meal in three days. "Wenn Essen und Trinken die Hauptaufgabe des Menschen ist . . . denn warum wird . . . das Leben . . . durch Fastübungen . . . wie in 3 Tagen nur ein Mal speisen, gequält?"—*Hirzel's Tr.*, 23 p., and *Menu vi.*, 18, &c.

and Arrian, who, in their works, have embodied his Indica, at least that part of it which treats of the sects and castes of India. But the paragraph with the name of Boutta, at the close of the first citation, is so loosely worded that it is impossible to ascertain whether it refers to the Sarmanai previously mentioned, or to some altogether different sect. It is, besides, so clumsily introduced, that it reads like an afterthought, a fact thrown in that it may not be lost, or a piece of information which Clemens had obtained from some of those Indians Dion speaks of as residents at Alexandria,¹ and which he now tacks on to a description notoriously taken from Megasthenes.

Of the second² passage, all that refers to the Semnoi I am disposed to look upon as an addition of Clemens.³ For though

¹ Ad Alexandrinos, ὅρω γὰρ οὐ μόνον Ἑλλήνας παρ' ἡμῖν, οὐδ' Ἰταλούς, &c. &c. ἀλλὰ καὶ Βακτρίους, καὶ Σκυθὰς, καὶ Πέρσας, καὶ Ἰνδῶν τινὰς, οἱ συνθεσονται καὶ παρισὶν ἑκάστοτε ἡμῖν.—Orat., xxxii., 672 p., Reiske ed.

² The term Sarmanai, as the name of a Hindu sect, was first used by Megasthenes, and is found in Strabo and Clemens cited above; that of Samanæoi belongs to Alexander Polyhistor, and is found in Clemens, in the same section, and just before the passage relating to the Gymnosophists which I have given in the text, and in Cyril, cont. Julianum iv., but is in both writers the name of the philosophers or priests of Bactria, and copied from Polyhistor. After Clemens, who lived at the close of the second and beginning of the third century, it is used by Bardesanes, A.D. 217, to designate, for the first time, so far as we know, the Buddhist priests of India, and in the same sense by Origen (A.D. 244, 249), and lastly, by Hieronymus, close of the fourth century (Epistles, cont. Jovian, pt. i., tr. ii., xxxix.), but expressly borrowed from Bardesanes. But to show that both Clemens and Cyril have been writing from the same authority, I will place their words side by side, observing that Cyril expressly quotes from the Pythagoric symbols of Polyhistor.

Προεστῆσαν διαντήης (φιλοσοφίας) Αἰγυπτῶν τε οἱ προφῆται καὶ Ἀσσυρίων οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυῖδαι, καὶ Σαρμαναῖοι Βακτρῶν, καὶ Κελτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαντες καὶ Περσῶν οἱ μάγοι . . . Ἰνδῶν τε οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ . . . Σκυθῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀναχαρσίς ην.—Stromat. I.

Ἱστορεῖ γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ ἐπικλῆν Πολυίστωρ ἐν τῇ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβολῶν . . . ἐφιλοσοφῆσαν καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις οἱ κεκλημένοι προφῆται καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυῖδαι καὶ ἐκ Βακτρῶν τῶν Περσῶν Σαρμαναῖοι, καὶ Κελτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ παρὰ Πέρσας οἱ μάγοι, καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ, καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀναχαρσίς παρὰ Σκυθαῖς.—Cyril cont. Julian, L. xv, (A.D. 375?)

³ Bardesanes we examine at length presently.—Origen, cont. Celsum, I. 24, speaking of the innate force of words, ὡς τίσι χρώνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσας μάγων οἱ λογιῶν, καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φιλοσοφούντων Βραχμανεῖς ἢ Σαρμαναῖοι.—Hieronymus, "Bardesanes vir Babylonius in duo dogmata apud Indos Gymnosophistas dividit, quorum alterum appellat Bragmanos, alterum Samanæos." See, however, Schwanbeck in Müller's Hist. Græc. Tr. 437 p. III, v., and Lassen Ind. Alterthum, III, v., 355-6 pp.

Alexander Polyhistor was a great reader and voluminous writer, he was a compiler merely, and no more professed originality than does an encyclopædia. A native, too, of one of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, he fell upon unhappy times, and, carried away to Rome before mid age a prisoner and a slave, passed the remainder of his days in Italy. Under these circumstances I do not see how he could have heard or learned any new thing about India, anything not already contained in books. But look, now, at Clemens Alexandrinus. He lived in Alexandria, then in frequent communication with India, where Hindus occasionally resorted. He was besides a Christian, and, as a Christian, he necessarily frequented the society of artisans and merchants, and among them, if anywhere, had opportunities of meeting either with Hindus, or with those who had visited India. But could a man of his acquirements, and eager, earnest, and inquiring mind, meet with such men, and not draw from them some information relating to India before unknown? His keeping within the well beaten path of old facts would be to me as surprising as Polyhistor's straying from it. Again, in no known fragment of Polyhistor are the Buddhist priests called Semnoi; indeed the term, as applied to them, is found only in this passage. And I can very well understand Clemens choosing it, because, in sound, it sufficiently resembles the Pali Sammana, and in sense expresses satisfactorily the ideas attached to an ancient priesthood; and perhaps, also, because unaware of their brotherhood, he thus distinguished the Hindu Buddhist from Polyhistor's Samanæos, or Bactrian priest.

Then Philostratus,¹ a cotemporary of Clemens, published his romance of Apollonius of Tyana, and Ælian² his *Variæ Historiæ*, in which are many notices of Indian animals and Indian peoples and customs, but from Megasthenes and Ctesias principally. And then, too, Art employed itself on Indian subjects, as we gather from Callistratus' description of the statue of a drunken and reeling Hindu.³ Then Dio Cassius wrote his history, lost in its entirety, but of which the fragments and summary by Xiphilinus sufficiently attest the interest he took in all that related to India. Then, too,

¹ Philostratus published his Apollonius after the death of the Empress Julia Domna, as he himself states, consequently some time after A.D. 217. V. Dio Cassius, L. 78, 6, 24.

² Ælian flourished A.D. 225.

³ Descript. iv. εἰς τὸ Ἰνδοῦ ἀγαλμα, On the statue of an Indian, evidently; and not, On the statue of the Indus, as Lassen renders it.—Ind. Alt. III., 73. Callistratus wrote about A.D. 250.

Bardesanēs, as we learn from the extracts preserved by Porphyry,¹ gave to the world his Indica, the materials for which he obtained, he states, from one Dandaas or Sandamines; the chief of some unrecorded embassy to the Cæsars, and whom he met, it seems, at Babylon, in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa,² Elagabalus (A.D. 218, 222). He writes, that the Indian Theosophists, whom the Greeks call Gymnosophists, are divided into two sects, Brahmins and Shamans, Samanæoi. The Brahmins are one family, the descendants of one father and mother, and they inherit their theology as a priesthood. The Shamans, on the other hand, are taken from all Indian sects indifferently,³ from all who wish to give themselves up to the study of divine things.

The Brahmins pay no taxes like other citizens, and are subject to no king.⁴ Of the philosophers among them, some inhabit the mountains, others the banks of the Ganges. The mountain Brahmins subsist on fruit and cow's milk, curdled with herbs.⁵ The others live from the fruit trees, which are found in plenty near the river, and which afford an almost constant succession of fresh fruits; and, should these fail, on the self-sown wild rice that

¹ Porphyry, de Abstinentiâ, iv. 17.

² *Ἰνδοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐξ Ἐμεσῶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Βαρδῆσανη τῷ ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας εἰς λόγους ἀφικόμενοι ἐξηγήσαντο.*—Stobæus Physica, i., 54. Gaisford's ed. This reading proposed by Heeren, and adopted by Gaisford, necessarily, it seems to me, brings down our embassy to the reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218, 222), the only Antonine who can be described as of Emesa. Lassen, however, (*ut sup.*, III., 348,) is of opinion that it was addressed to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 158, 181, an error for 138, 151), but as his reference is to Heeren's ed., whose emendation I presume he adopts, I cannot conceive how he arrives at this conclusion.

³ Megasthenes, as quoted by both Arrian and Strabo, had some indistinct notion that the Indian sophistai, or some of them, were not so bound to caste as the other Indians. But Arrian so puts it as if the whole Brahmin caste was open. *Μοῦνον σφισιν ἀνείται σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι*, and that because of the austerity of their lives.—Indica, xi., 7, xii., 9. Fr. Hist. Græc., II., 427, 429 pp. Didot ed. Strabo, on the other hand, that no man can exercise two trades, except he be a philosopher, *πλὴν ἐν τῶν φιλοσοφῶν τρεῖσι*, and this because of their virtue.—*ib.*, p. 430. Diodorus omits the passage: doubtless it was ambiguous.

⁴ *Ἀλειουργητοὶ γὰρ οὐτὲς οἱ φιλοσοφοὶ πάσης ὑποουρίας, οὐθ' ἑτέρων κυριεύουσιν οὐθ' ὑφ' ἑτέρων δεσποζονται.*—Diodorus, II., 400; Fr. Græc. II., 405 p. Menu says, "A king, even though dying, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas."—cvii., 133. "The temple lands (of Buddhist priests) were invariably free from royal duty."—Hardy, Monachism, 68 p.

⁵ "Buttermilk may be swallowed, and every preparation of buttermilk," 10 §. "And every mess prepared with barley or wheat, or with dressed milk," 25 §, v. c., Menu.

grows there.¹ To eat any other food, or even to touch animal food, they hold to be the height of impiety and uncleanness.² Each man has his own cabin, and lives as much as he can by himself, and spends the day and the greater part of the night in prayers and hymns to the gods. And they so dislike company, even of one another, or much discourse, that when it happens, they expiate it by a retirement and silence of many days.³ They fast often.

The Shamans,⁴ on the other hand, are, as I said, an elected body. Whoever wishes to be enrolled in their order presents himself to the city or village authorities, and there makes cession of all his property. He then shaves his body, puts on the robe, and goes to the Shamans,⁵ and never turns back to speak or look at his wife and children, if he have any, and never thinks of them any more, but leaves his children to the king, and his wife to his relations, who provide them with the necessaries of life. The Shamans live outside the city, and spend the whole day in discourse upon divine things. They have houses and temples of a royal foundation, and in them stewards, who receive from the king⁶ a certain allowance of food, bread, and vegetables, for each convent. When the convent bell rings,⁷ all strangers then in the

¹ "Let him eat green herbs, flowers, roots, and fruits," &c., 13 §. "Let him not eat the produce of plowed land," 16 §, vi. c. of the Anchorite ed. But as a Sannyasi, "an earthen water-pot, the roots of large trees, coarse vesture, total solitude,—these are the characteristics of a Brahman set free," 44 § *ib.*

² The Brahman student must "abstain from flesh meat," 177 §, ii., *ib.* "The Manava Dharma affirms that the Brahman who eats flesh loses instantly his rank." —Tr. Rl. As. Soc., 163 p., iii. v.

³ As anchorite, "Let him live without external fire,—wholly silent," vi. 25, *ib.* As Sannyasi, "Alone let him constantly dwell for the sake of his own felicity, observing the happiness of a solitary man—without a companion," *ib.*, 42.

⁴ Samanaioi, from the Pali Sammana, found first in Clemens Alexandrinus from Polyhistor, and applied to the priests of Bactria.

⁵ "The priest can only possess three robes," 66 p. "From the commencement of his novitiate he is shaved," 112 p. "The wearing of the robe is imperative," 114, 122. Hardy, *East. Monachism*.

⁶ The regular and usual mode of obtaining food is "to take the alms bowl from house to house," Hardy, *ut sup.* 94, but as we may gather from the Sacred Books of Ceylon and the Legend of Anepidu (Hardy, *Monachism*, 68 p., and *Buddhism*, 218 p.), land and food were also provided by kings and rich men for monasteries; indeed, under certain circumstances, the priest is enjoined to refuse the food "that is given stately to a temple." *Id.*, *Monachism*, p. 97.

⁷ So in the legend of Sāṃgha: "Au bout de quelque temps le son de la plaque de métal qu'on frappe pour appeler les Religieux s'étant fait entendre, chacun d'eux tenant son vase à la main vient s'asseoir à son rang."—Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddhisme*, 320 p.

house withdraw, and the Shamans enter and betake themselves to prayer. Prayer ended, at the sound of a second bell the servants place before each individual, for two never eat together, a dish of rice; but to any one who wants variety they give besides either vegetables or fruit. As soon as they have done dinner, and they hurry over it, they go out to their usual occupations. They are not allowed to marry or to possess property. They and the Brahmans are so honoured by the Indians, that even the king will come to them to solicit their counsel in matters of moment, and their intercession with the gods when danger threatens the country.

Both Shamans and Brahmans have such a notion of death, that they impatiently bear with life, and view it but as a necessary though burdensome service imposed upon them by nature. They hasten therefore to free the soul from the body.¹ And often when a man is well in health, and no evil whatever presses upon him, he will give notice of his intention to quit the world, and his friends will not try to dissuade him from it, but rather account him happy, and give him messages for their dead relations, so firm and true is the conviction of this people that souls after death

¹ Onesecritus says, when suffering from disease, *Αισχιστον δ' αυτοις νομιζεσθαι νοσον σωματικην· τον δ' υπονοησαντα καθ' αυτον τουτο εξαγειν· εαυτον δια πυρος νησαντα πυραν.*—Strabo, xv., 65. Pomponius Mela more generally, "At ubi senectus aut morbus incescit, procul a cæteris abeunt mortemque . . . nihil anxie expectant . . . Prudentiores . . . non expectant eam sed ingerendo semet ignibus læti et cum gloriâ arcessunt."—III., vii., 40. "On voit . . . dans l'Inde des hommes se brûler sur un bûcher. . . Cet usage vient de la croyance . . . à la métempsychose."—Reinaud, *Rel. des Voyageurs Arabes*, I., 120 p. Yet Mennu rather discountenances, except in sickness, voluntary deaths. "If he has an incurable disease," (for an example see Radja-Tarangini, i., 311—12. Note,) "let him advance in a straight line towards the invincible N.E. point, feeding on air and water till his mortal frame totally decay," vii., 31; but 45 *ib.*, "Let him not wish for life, let him expect his appointed time as a herd expects his wages." Similarly the Buddhist. "The rahats do not desire to live, nor do they wish to die; they wait patiently for the appointed time."—Hardy, *El. Mon.*, 287. But from the answer of Punna (Purna) to Buddha, "There are some priests who from various causes are tired of life, and they seek opportunities whereby their lives may be taken, but this course I shall avoid," (*id.*, Buddhism, 260 p.); and from the fact that the perfected priest when "at the point of death would cause his body to be spontaneously burnt" (*id.*, Monachism, 261), we may presume that voluntary deaths among priests, even in Buddha's time, were not unfrequent and permissible on some occasions, i.e., were, as among the Brahmans, not very strictly prohibited, and that Megasthenes very fairly states both the doctrine and the practice, *Ουκ ειναι δογμα φησι εαυτους εξαγειν· τους δε ποιουντας τουτο νεαυτους κρινεσθαι*,—*Geog. Hist. Græc.*, II., 439.

have intercourse with one another. When he has received all his commissions, in order that he may quit the body in all purity,¹ he throws himself into a burning pile, and dies amid the hymns of the assembled crowd. And his nearest friends² dismiss him to his death more willingly than we our fellow-citizens when about to proceed on some short journey. They weep over themselves that they must continue to live, and deem him happy who has thus put on immortality. And among neither of these sects, as among the Greeks, has any sophist yet appeared to perplex them by asking, "If everybody did this, what would become of the world?"

Thus far Bardesanes on the Gymnosophists. To form any just estimate of the value of his information, we must compare it with the accounts given by more ancient writers. The companions of Alexander speak of the Indian sophists, and of them as divided into classes, but nowhere mention the Sarmanai³ by name. Thus Aristobulus,⁴ of two Brahmans he saw at Taxila, and who in the presence of Alexander displayed each in his own way his powers of endurance, remarks that the younger wore all his hair, while the other was shaved.⁵ And Nearchus⁶ distinguishes between the Brahmans who are engaged in political life, and are councillors of the king, and those who give themselves up to the study and contemplation of nature, as Calanus. He adds, that with these last women philosophize, and that all lead austere lives. With Megasthenes, as we know him from Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Arrian,⁷ begins our knowledge of the Sarmanai. Of the philosophers gene-

¹ Megasthenes ascribes no particular virtue to the death by fire: it is merely the death preferred by fiery spirits, *τοὺς δὲ πυρῶεις εἰς πυρῶθυμους, ib.*

² The Relation des Voyageurs Arabes, 9th century, thus describes one of these self-immolations. The man "se met à courir dans les marchés ayant devant lui des cymbales et entouré de sa famille et ses proches." . . . A crown of burning coals is placed upon his head. . . . "Le homme marche la tête en feu . . . et pourtant il marche comme si de rien n'était et on n'aperçoit sur lui aucun signe d'émotion: enfin, il arrive devant le bûcher et s'y précipite."—Reinaud, i. 122.

³ Sarmanai, Sans. Cramanā, used by Megasthenes and his copyists.

⁴ From Strabo, xv., I. 61.

⁵ The shaved head would imply a Buddhist priest, described in the Prabodhatschandrodaya as "Kahlgeschirner, Kopfbüschelverzierter, Haarausrauer," 39 p., and whoever compares the whole account of this shaved Brahman, how he came to Alexander and followed him to the end, with Onesecritus' story of Calanus—save that no mention is made of this Brahman's voluntary death—will be inclined to think that he and Calanus are one and the same person.—Strabo, xv., I., 65.

⁶ Strabo, *ib.*, 66.

⁷ Strabo, xv. I. Diodorus Siculus, II., 35. Arrian, Indica, vii.

rally, he says that they do no labour, pay no taxes, and are subject to no king; that they are present at all sacrifices, whether public or private, and preside over all funeral rites;¹ and that on New Year's day they meet in the king's palace, and there make known the future of the year, its events and harvests, and that he who thrice fails in his predictions is condemned to a life-long silence. These philosophers he divided into Brahman and Sarmanai.

Of these the Brahman were the most honoured, because their opinions were the most fixed and uniform. The Brahman's education began even in his mother's womb. During the period of gestation she was soothed by songs and chants in praise of continence, which, in proportion as they won her pleased attention, beneficially influenced her future offspring. After the child's birth, and as he grew in years, he was passed on from one preceptor to another, until he was old enough to become an auditor of the philosophers. These lived frugally, abstained from animal food and women, and in a grove outside the city spent their days in earnest discourse, communicating their knowledge to all who chose to listen. But in their presence the novice was not permitted to speak, or hawk, or spit, under the penalty of one day's banishment from their society. At the age of 37 his student life ceased.² The Brahman then returned to his home, lived more freely, wore gold rings and silk, and ate the flesh of such animals as were of no service to man, abstaining, however, from pungent and highly seasoned food. He married, too, as many wives as he could, for the sake of offspring, but did not admit them to a fellowship in his philosophy.

Of the Sarmanai, he writes that the Hylobioi were the most honoured. They dwelt in the woods, and subsisted on leaves and wild fruits, "wore a vesture of bark,"³ and abstained from wine and venery. Through messengers they advised with the king on the causes of things, and were employed by him as his intercessors before the gods. Next to them were the physicians. They, too,

¹ Menu, III., 124, &c., §.

² "The discipline of a student in the three Vedas may be continued for thirty-six years in the house of his preceptor, or for half that time," &c. Menu, III., 1. That on his return home he lived more laxly and elegantly may be gathered from §§ 3, 61, 62, *ib.*, and iv., 34. In the chapter on Diet, from 25—35 §, are the rules to be observed in eating flesh meat. Among the Jains, "A student till he is married should tie only a thread round his loins, with a rag to cover his nakedness." But "as soon as he is married, then he may dress properly at his pleasure."—*As. Resear.* ix. 248.

³ See on the third and fourth Orders. Menu, vi., 6, &c.

lived abstemiously, but not in the open air. They ate rice and flour, which they seem to have got by begging. They made barren women fruitful. They healed by diet rather than by medicine, and of medicaments preferred cataplasms and unguents. Both they and the Hylobioi would remain a whole day in the same posture. Others were diviners, and skilled in the rites to be observed towards the dead, and wandered as mendicants about the towns and villages. And yet another class, but more urbane and better nurtured than these last, was like them occupied with the things of Hades, in so far at least as they conduced to piety and a holy life. With some of these Sarmanai the women are allowed to philosophize¹ under a vow of chastity.

Another writer, quoted also by Strabo² towards the close of the same chapter, speaks of the Pramnæ,³ no doubt for Sramnæ, as Garmanai for Sarmanai, as of a class opposed to the Brahmans, as argumentative⁴ and contentious, and as jeering the Brahmans for their love of physiology and astronomy. They are Mountain, or Gymnete, or Political, or Rural (*προσχωρισι*). The Mountain Pramnæ are clad in skins, and carry wallets full of roots and medicaments, and in their cures use charms and incantations. The Gymnetes, as their name implies, go naked, and for the most part live in the open air till their 37th year. They admit women to their society, but both they and the women are strictly chaste. The Political⁵ and Rural classes live, the one in the city, and are clad in silks; the other in the country, and "wear for their mantles the hides of goats."

It would appear from these accounts that the companions of Alexander knew of Brahmans only, Megasthenes and our anonymous author of Brahmans and Sarmanai, and that they divided the

¹ Of the Sannyasi, "Let him repair to the lonely wood, committing the care of his wife to her sons, or *accompanied by her*, if she chuse to attend him."—Menu, *ib.*, 3 §.

² Geogr., xv., l., 70.

³ In a paper on the Religious Sects of the Hindus, I find that the late Professor Wilson derives the term Pramnæ, from Pramana, proof, and inclines to think that they were Buddhas; the Sarmanai, on the other hand, ascetics generally. As, however, in his latter years he identified, I believe, the Sarmanai with the Buddhist Shamans, his great authority can scarcely be brought to bear against the view I have taken.—As. Res., xvii., 279, 280 pp.

⁴ So in the legend of Sâmgâ, when in his wanderings he finds a hermitage with 500 Rishis, to avoid receiving him they say one to another, "Continuons de nous livrer à nos occupations ordinaires : ces Çramanas fils de Çakya sont de grands parleurs."—Burnouf, *ut sup.*, 323.

⁵ Menu, vii., 37, and compare 54 and 58, *ib.*

Sarmanai into four classes. But of these four classes, it seems, that while the two first in both writers pretty fairly correspond with one another, the first of one with the second of the other, the two last have no one point in common, and can scarcely be intended to represent the same members of the same society; indeed, the Political and Rural Pramnæ are much more like the Brahmans of Megasthenes than his Sarmanai—the one to his Brahmans whose novitiate or student life has ceased; and the other to those of them who are philosophers. Moreover, the Gymnetes, who go naked and live in the open air, and the Hylobioi, clad in bark and subsisting on leaves and wild fruits, bear some resemblance² indeed to the Digambara of the Jains¹ and the Brahman Sannyasi as painted by Menu, but very little to the Shaman or Buddhist priest, as we know him, who wears and is obliged to wear a robe of a particular stuff and colour, and who lives on rice and grain generally, but who is also permitted when in bad health to eat ghee, oil, sugar, honey, and even flesh meat.³ Again, the anonymous author speaks of the Pramnæ in no very favourable terms, much as Brahmans might be expected to speak of Buddhists; but Megasthenes of the Sarmanai with a respect, an admiration really extraordinary, seeing that he was resident at the court of a Brahminical sovereign, Chandragupta, and in such terms, that it may very fairly be doubted whether his Sarmanai were indeed intended for Buddhist priests.

Take now Bardesanes' account. His Brahmans are hurriedly and superficially sketched, as if his pen had been guided by a Buddhist hand. His division of them into Mountain and River³ is unmeaning—really a distinction without a difference, for both led the same ascetic lives in the same sort of solitude. But his Samanæoi, or Shamans are the Buddhist priests of our day. He shows us their order open to all who wish to take upon themselves its duties. But, to enter it, the aspirant must give up wife, and children, and property. He must shave his body and put on the yellow robe, and then retire to some vihâra,⁴ where, having made vows

¹ In the Prabod'h Chandradaya the Digambara is thus described: "His disgusting form is besmeared with ordure, his hair in wild disorder, his body naked and horrible to the view."—Act III., Taylor's trs.

² Hardy, *Monachism*, p. 92.

³ Corresponding with the "Mountain and Plain" Brahmans, probably, of Megasthenes.—Strabo, *ut sup.*

⁴ In the early days of Buddhism, according to the "Book of the Twelve Observances," (Burnouf, *ut sup.* 304,) another mode of life prevailed. "L'obli-

of chastity and poverty, he lives, supported by the alms of kings and the pious rich, and is thus enabled to pass his days in prayer and discourse on heavenly things. His manner of life is decent, orderly, and temperate even in its austerity, and his retirement is at once cheerful and improving, and contrasts favourably with the sulky loneliness of the Brahman. For though the Brahmans have their *agrahâras*,¹ where the ordinary members of their caste are found collected together, and though the Buddhist ascetic, notwithstanding his convents, occasionally retires to the solitude of the forest, yet is Bardesanes' account of the two priesthoods, in this particular, characteristic of the spirit of the two religions. In it we see the Brahman, who lives by himself and for himself, with his strong will conquering the wants and appetites of his body, but indifferent to the wants and miseries of his fellows; and in it the Buddhist, not less earnest in self-sacrifice, but not neglectful of the social duties, cultivating a kind and genial nature, and knitting his own good to the good of mankind.

But Bardesanes also represents both Brahmans and Shamans as willingly devoting themselves to death by fire. The self-cremation of widows of the higher castes was within even a few years, and until forbidden by law, no uncommon sight in India; but among men, Brahmans, this sort of death has long fallen into disuse. History tells of a Calanus, who, with much parade and of his own free will, died by fire in the presence of Alexander and his army; and of a Cumarilla,² who, to purify himself from the slaughter of heretical Buddhists, ascended the funeral pile. But in modern times another form of suicide has been preferred. The Hindu pilgrim now toils up the snowy heights of the Himalaya, to the sacred source of the Ganges, there to die; or he commits himself to its stream, and thus perishes in its holy waters. He suffers and dies to ensure to himself a happy birth in his next existence. The Buddhist also has freely chosen the death by fire as before

gation de se retirer dans la solitude des forêts, celle de s'asseoir auprès des troncs d'arbres, celle de vivre en plein air . . . sont certainement trois règles primitives."—*Id.*, 311 p. Hardy says, "It was an ordinance of Buddha that the priests, who were then supposed to dwell most commonly in the wilderness, should, during the three months of the rainy season, reside in a fixed habitation."—*Monachism*, 222, and Burnouf, 285, 6.

¹ "Agrahara est le nom de tout terrain ou de tout village particulièrement affecté aux Brahmanes. Dans le sud de l'Inde . . . on ne trouve presque pas d'endroit sans un agrahara habité par des Brahmanes seulement."—*Radja Tarangini*, I., 348 p., note. Troyer. Trs.

² *Tr. Royal Asiatic Society*, I., 441.

Augustus. And if ever Brahmans did so choose to die, and if these their deaths worked at all on the religious feelings of the vulgar, I have no doubt that for every Brahman who so died two Buddhists stepped forward to die beside him, but with other and higher aims. They died not for themselves, but for the honour of their creed. They died as Buddha, who, in a former existence, laid himself down as food for a hungry tiger; as the Arya Sâmgâ,¹ who flung himself into the troubled sea to save the degraded Nagas; as Purna,² who to preach his master's law, went forth to an expected death. They died as they had lived, for others' good. Their death was but a last and crowning self-sacrifice. Except in this sense, a voluntary death is contrary to the spirit of their religion, and incompatible with its duties.

But the Indian ambassadors also told Bardesanes of a lake in their country, known as the Lake of Probation,³ and of the use they make of it. When any one is accused of a crime, and insists upon his innocence, the Brahmans ask him if he will undergo the trial by water. If he refuse, he is sent away and punished as guilty. If he consent, they bring him down to this lake, and to check frivolous or malicious charges, they bring his accusers down with him. Together they go into the water, which is knee-deep for everybody, and together pass over to the other side of the lake. The innocent man walks along without any fear, and is never wet above the knees; but for the guilty, the water rises and rises till it is quite over his head, and he is then dragged out by the Brahmans, who hand him over to be punished in any way short of death. The Indian, however, rarely pushes matters to this extremity; he too much fears the ordeal by water.

But besides this lake for voluntary, they have also another to try both voluntary and involuntary offences; in fact to probe a man's whole life. Of this lake Bardesanes, and I will quote his very words, has left the following account:—In a very high mountain, situated pretty nearly in the middle of the earth, there was, as he heard, a large natural cave, in which was to be seen a

¹ Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, 317 p.

² *Id. ib.*, 253—4 pp.

³ Troyer, in his notes to the *Radja-Tarangini*, I., 361, 6 pp., describes several sacred and extraordinary fountains in Cashmere which the credulity of the people, favoured by their distance and inaccessibility, may have easily worked up into the lakes of Bardesanes. See also Otesias' account of a fountain, the waters of which became solid, and when given to drink in water made one tell everything one ever did.—Photius, 147 and 155.

statue,¹ ten or perhaps twelve cubits high, standing upright, with its hands folded crosswise; and the right half of its face, its right arm and foot, in a word, its whole right side was that of a man; its left, that of a woman;² and the indissoluble union of these two incongruous halves in one body struck all who saw the statue with wonder. On its right breast was engraved the sun, on its left the moon; on its two arms were artistically sculptured a host of angels, mountains, a sea and a river, together with the ocean, and plants, and living things, all that is. And the Indians told him that God, after he had created the world, gave this statue to his son³ as a

¹ The Radja-tarangini has a passage which reminds one of this cave and statue. "La possession de la jouissance de la béatitude éternelle devient le partage de ceux qui dans l'intérieur du sanctuaire de Papisudana (qui détruit tout péché) touchent l'image de bois de l'époux Uma. La déesse Sandya entre-tient dans cette montagne aride, l'eau dans laquelle on reconnaît ce qui est conforme et ce qui ne l'est pas à la vertu et au vice."—I., 32, 33, Slokas. Of this passage, however, Professor Goldstücker has favoured me with the following translation:—"There those who touch the wooden image of Siva standing in the interior of the sacred place Papisudana, attain as their reward worldly enjoyment and final bliss, 32. There on the waterless mountain the goddess of twilight (the wife of Siva) places water to show to the virtuous that which will benefit (agree with), and to the wicked that which will injure (disagree with) them," 33.

² "La réunion de Civa et de Parvati dans un seul corps est le thème de l'invocation par laquelle commence chaque livre du Radja-tarangini . . . Cette forme est l'objet d'une grande vénération dans l'Inde. Je rappellerai parmi les images . . . de l'île d'Eléphanta une statue colossale—représentant Civa moitié homme et moitié femme avec une seule poitrine."—Radj., II., 326, 328 pp.

³ Τούτων τον ανδριαντα φασι δεδοκεναι τον θεον τῷ υἱῳ δημητρῳ τον κοσμον κτισεν.—Stobæus, *Physica*, Gaisford's ed., p. 54. This expression indicates a Christian author, and indeed Bardesanes has been identified with the great heresiarch of that name who lived in the second century, and gained so great celebrity by a work on Fate. In this case the Christian author was still living (A.D. 218, 222). Porphyry (A.D. 233, 304), says of the Bardesanes he quotes that "he lived in the time of our fathers." But the Christian Bardesanes presented his book, Cedrenus of the eleventh century affirms, to Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138, 161), and Epiphanius (ad. Heres., II., 36, II. v., 477 p.) speaks of him as faithful to the Church up to the death of Antoninus Verus (A.D. 169), and of this book as of one of his orthodox works; but this book Eusebius (A.D. 324) asserts (*Hist. Eccl.*, iv., 24, 30), he presented to Marcus Antoninus, and further adds that he wrote it in consequence of the persecution of the Christians by Marcus (A.D. 167, 177), and about the time Soter, Bishop of Rome, died (A.D. 179). Now, from the earliest and latest of these dates, the deaths of Antoninus Pius and the accession of Elagabalus, there elapsed thirty-seven and thirty-nine years respectively, and our author must either have been very young when he wrote his work on Fate, or very old when he published his *Indica*. Again, the Edessene Chronicle (Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, i., 47 p., note, and 389, note), gives the precise date of his birth, July 11, A.D. 154. On this authority he must have been seven years old when

visible exemplar of his creation. And I asked them, adds Bardesanes, of what this statue was made. And Sandanes assured

Antoninus Pius died, and twenty-five when Soter. And at twenty-five he might have written his book on Fate, and at sixty-four his Colloquy with the Indian Ambassadors. But of late years this "Book on Fate," or rather "Book of the Laws of Countries," has been found in the Syriac original, and was in 1855 published in its entirety by the Oriental Translation Fund, together with a translation by the Rev. Mr. Cureton. The work is in the shape of a dialogue. Two youths, who have been discoursing on "fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute," meet with Bardesanes, and appeal to his superior learning and wisdom. They address him sometimes as lord—a homage paid, perhaps, to his rank and relationship with the Abgari—and sometimes as father, a deference due only to his age and experience. He, too, alludes and appeals to former works of his, p. 5. "For it has been said by me in another place." When he wrote this work, then, he must have been a man of at least mid age, and either not born, A.D. 154, or his book not written, A.D. 179. Again, in the book itself are allusions which may assist us in fixing its date. In p. 30, "Because as yesterday the Romans took Arabia and abrogated all their ancient laws, and more especially that circumcision with which they circumcised." Mr. Cureton, Pref. iii., is of opinion that this passage refers to the conquest of Arabia by Marcus Aurelius (Lucius Verus), but of such a conquest by him I find no record, not even in the titles Armeniacus, Parthicus, and Medicus, which the senate so lavishly bestowed on him, and which he afterwards dropped. (Life, Smith's Hist.) But on the other hand, Trajan (Eutropius, viii., 3):—"Arabum regem in fidem accepit," and "Arabiam postea in provinciae formam redegit." But to this conquest (A.D. 116) could Bardesanes, even A.D. 167, allude as "of yesterday?" I think not. Severus, however, A.D. 196, again conquered and reduced Arabia to a province (Eutropius, iii., 18). "Arabos simul a'ortus est, in ditionem redegit provinciae modo." Aurelius Victor, xx., 14, 15, "Persarum regem, Abgarum subegit, Arabas in deditionem accepit; Severi, Hist. Spartianus, Hist. Aug., I. v., 157 p. But if it is of this conquest Bardesanes speaks, then his book can scarcely have been written till after the death of Severus (A.D. 211), or in the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211, 217). But as any such date is wide of the several dates ascribed to this work by the early Fathers, and as these dates are themselves wide of one another, and very indefinite, we will examine how far such a date is consistent with the circumstances. The Edessene Chronicle gives the date of his birth so precisely, that I should be loath, except on evidence, to reject it, A.D. 154. His book, as we have seen, indicates that it was written at least in mid-age, perhaps in old age; if written A.D. 214, it would have been written eighteen years after the conquest of Arabia by Severus,—neither too late nor too early for the "but as yesterday," and when he was sixty years of age,—when he might well quote other works of his own, and be addressed as lord or father. But tradition spoke of this work as having been presented to Antoninus, and hence the embroglio of dates. For that Bardesanes, a Syrian, and of the Abgari, should know and be known by the Emesene Elagabalus is no way improbable; neither is it improbable that on Elagabalus' nomination to the Empire he should present him, evidently of a religious turn of mind, with a work already of repute, and which was Christian, rather because it was catholic, than because it contained any special Christian doctrine; nor that when he so presented it, he should

me, and the others confirmed his words, that no man could tell; that it was not gold or silver, nor yet brass or stone, nor indeed any other known material; but that, though not wood, it was the likeliest a very hard and sound wood. And they told how a certain king of theirs had on a time tried to pluck one of the hairs off from about its neck, and how that he was so struck down with terror, that he hardly recovered his senses, and only after long intercession of the Brahmans. They said that on its head was the image of a god seated as on a throne, and that in the great heats it would run down with such a sweat, as would, unless stopped by the fanning of the Brahmans, wet the earth around. Well, further on, beyond the statue, it was, according to the Indians, very dark, and those who wished to go so far took with them lighted torches, and went on till they came to a sort of door, whence a stream of water welling out fell into or formed a lake in the deepest recesses of the cave. Through this door those who wish to prove themselves are obliged to pass. For the pure-minded it opens itself out very wide, so that they enter easily enough, and within they find a fountain of the brightest and sweetest water;¹ the source of the stream I spoke of. The wicked, however, struggle long and vainly to get in, for the entrance closes in upon them; at length, they are forced to confess their sins, and to ask the others to intercede for them, and they are made to fast a long time.

Sandanes further told, that on a certain day the Brahmans flock to this place; that some spend their lives there, but that others come in the summer and autumn, when fruit is plenty, both to see the statue and to meet their friends, and to prove their lives by means of the door. They at the same time examine and discuss the sculptures on the statue; for it is not easy to understand them

address the Emperor as Antoninus—a name he much affected, and by which he was in Syria generally known. But it is also not improbable that the Christians, who so carefully chronicled the interview of Origen with Mammea, should likewise bruit abroad the honour conferred on this work of Bardesanes, which thus became associated with the name of Antoninus. But the name of Antoninus, as applied to Elagabalus, can scarcely be said to have ever obtained in either Greece or Rome, but see Macrinus Capitolini, vii. Hist. Aug. Script., and in Epiphanius' time was probably only given to Pius and Marcus; what more natural than that our Fathers, when they heard of this presentation copy, should refer it to one or other of these great Emperors—more especially as the work was not heretical, and should therefore be a work of Bardesanes' younger days? though so far as that goes, it might just as well have been written by a Jew as a Christian.

¹ Φασι δὲ ἐξαίρετον αὐτοῖς εἶναι μίαν πηγὴν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας πολὺ πάντων ἀριστὴν καὶ θεοτάτην, ἧς οὐδέποτε τοὺς γένεσθαι ἐμπικλάσθαι.—Dio Chrys. II., 72.

all, both because of their number, and because no one country contains all plants and animals. This, then, is what the Indians relate concerning the ordeal by water.

The Lake of Probation Lassen connects with the ordeal by water; one of the ordeals¹ which, on a deficiency or absence of testimony, is allowed and even prescribed by the Hindu law (Menu viii. 190; and Colebrooke, Hindu Law I. 503-5). Of the manner in which these ordeals are performed, Warren Hastings has given an interesting account in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. In that by water, which, except that it is by water, and conducted by a Brahman, resembles in nothing Bardesanes' Lake of Probation, the accused is made to stand in water, either flowing or stagnant, up to his navel, and then holding the foot of a Brahman, to dive and remain under as long as a man can walk fifty paces very gently, or till two men have fetched back two arrows which have been previously shot from a bow. If, before the man has walked thus far, or the two men have brought back the arrows, the accused rise above the water, he is condemned; if not, acquitted.

In the cave of the second lake, Weber² finds the first Greek notice of a Hindu temple, and Lassen³ sees one of the cave temples so frequent on the western coast of the Indian peninsula. The statue he identifies with that of Siva as Ardhnanari, or half-man, half-woman; and of Siva also recognised as the Supreme God. The image on the head is that of the Ganges, the angels are Devas, and the characters on his arms are typical of him as the Creator.⁴

¹ In the Radja-tarangini, the widow of a Brahman applies to the king to punish the murderer of her husband, and names a Brahman whom she suspects, but refuses the ordeal by water. "O radja, cet homme est connu pour être versé dans le fameux art de l'eau, il peut sans crainte arrêter le jeu divin."—iv., 94, 121 p., II. v. Eventually they try the ordeal by flour of rice, and the Brahman is convicted. "Le roi lui infligea toute punition sauf la punition de la mort." 105.

² Indische Skizzen, 86 p., note.

³ Indische Alterthumskunder, III., 351.

⁴ A statue of Siva and Parvati united, or as Ardhnanari, is in the Elephanta cave.—Moor's Pantheon, 98 p. And in pl. 7 and 24 of the same work are representations of Ardhnanari, two seated and one standing. On each side of the united deities are the bull and tiger, the Nandis of Siva and Parvati respectively, but in pl. 7 interchanged. In all the figures

"From the moon-silvered locks famed Ganga springs;"

but in pl. 7 the goddess is seen personally with the serpent's head over her; all bear the soli-lunar emblem on the forehead, the drum and trident or sword in the hands, and the collar of flowers or skulls about the neck; but on none are to be found the symbolical characters which adorned the statue of Sandanes.

The door and the great sweat he explains as pious frauds, and the sacrilegious king as a legend invented and promulgated by priests to secure the treasures which they habitually deposited within their statues. On Weber's conjecture I would observe, that the cave is a natural cave, and seemingly in its natural state, without pillars or carvings in relief; but, nevertheless, a cave which the patient fervour of a religious idea may hereafter develope into a cave temple. Lassen's conjectures have an air of probability about them; but still it seems to me that the lake and the cave are each, in its kind, unique; that, with regard to the first, we have no indication whatever of its locality; and, with regard to the second, the very indefinite one, that it is in a very high mountain,¹ somewhere near the centre of the earth; not, therefore, in the country of Sandanes, or Sadanes, if he came from Ardjake, or the Malabar coast, as Lassen supposes. I cannot but think that our ambassadors spoke of this lake and mountain, not from knowledge, but from hearsay, and that they repeated stories current in their country, which they conscientiously believed perhaps, but for which there was about the same foundation as for that Fontaine de Jouvence so famous in old romance.

But as between India and the Roman empire there never existed any interchange of thought or any common sympathies, the allusions to India in Roman literature are at the most but indications of that curiosity which is excited by commercial intercourse. But that intercourse was in the hands of the merchants of Alexandria and Palmyra. These cities, situated the one on the shores of the Mediterranean, the other in the midst of a desert far inland, and halfway between Mesopotamia and Syria, can scarcely be said to have had any direct communication with India. They could not be reached but by a long portage and river navigation: and yet the facilities which the one, as the great seaport of the Roman empire, afforded to the transit of Western merchandize, and the advantages which the other derived from its proximity to India, and the comparatively small cost at which it obtained and delivered the

¹ Perhaps in the N. of India, towards Mount Meru, where also is that cave of Pluto, *παρα τοῖς Ἀριανοῖς τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς*, described by Ælian, xvi., 16, with its mystic recesses, its secret paths stretching deep under ground, and leading no one knows whither, but down which, when the people drive them, all sorts of animals willingly hurry, never to return; though who will may hear the bleating of sheep, the lowing of oxen, and the neighing of horses, coming up from the depths of the earth.

products of India, gave them the monopoly of Roman trade with the East. The Alexandrian route Pliny¹ has traced out. At Juliopolis, a suburb of Alexandria and its port on the river, our merchants embarked with their goods, and favoured by the prevailing north wind, sailed up the Canoptic branch of the Nile, and in twelve days reached Coptos, distant 303 miles and a city of a mixed population, Egyptian and Arabian,² and communicating with the Nile by a canal. Here they left their boats, and with their merchandize on camel back pushed across plains and over mountains to Berenice, another twelve days' journey, travelling mostly by night, because of the heat, and regulating their halts by the wells on the road. At Berenice, a seaport on the southern frontier of Egypt, they met the fleet intended for India. The ships of which it was composed were large, well-found and manned, and carried besides a body of armed men as a safeguard against the pirates who infested the Indian seas.³ From Berenice, about Midsummer time, or in the beginning of the dog-days, they set sail, and in thirty days made Ocelis, or Cane, the one on the eastern shore of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, the other on the western coast of Arabia in the frankincense country, and thence or from Syagrus to the north of Cane they struck out through the open sea for Muziris, in Pliny's time the haunt of pirates, or for Necanidon (Nelcyndon) or Barake, a forty days' sail. At Barake they took in pepper, which was brought there in native boats from Cottonara. In the month of December or in the beginning of January they returned, taking advantage of the south-east monsoon, and, when they entered the Red Sea, of the westerly wind. So far Pliny. But when he wrote the trade with India was in its infancy; as it developed itself, in the marts which Alexandrian ships most frequented, the merchants not improbably found Greek factories⁴ to which they were consigned, and which managed

¹ Hist. Nat., vi., 26.

² Καὶ ἡ εἰς Κοπτον διωρῶξ. πολὺν κοινὴν Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αραβῶν.—Strabo, xviii, l., 44.

³ "Sagittariorum cohortibus impositis: etenim piratæ maxime infestant."—Pliny, *ib.* πλεὶς δὲ εἰς ἐμπορίαν τούτα μεγάλα πλοία, Periplus, 56 §§; and see also the description of an Egyptian ship in the Indian trade from Philostratus' Life of Apollonius, 97 p. xvii., *RI. As. Journ.*

⁴ I have no direct authority for this; but besides such names on the Indian coast as Byzantium, found also in the Periplus, &c., Ptolemy, speaking of the situation of some Indian town, states that he has it from those who had resided in the country some time, *παρα τῶν ἐντευθεν εἰσπλευσαντων καὶ χρόνον πλείστον ἐπελθόντων τοὺς τοποὺς καὶ παρα τῶν ἐκείθεν ἀφικιομένων πρὸς ἡμᾶς*.—Proleg. I.,

all their business with the authorities and the people. In this way we may account for the Greek names of towns on the Indian seaboard, and for that temple of Augustus near Muziris—if it ever existed—which appears in the Peutingerian tables.

Of the course of trade to and through Palmyra we know little. Palmyra, we have every reason to believe, had no ships of its own. Arab, and perhaps native vessels, brought the produce of India up the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates; and, if they did not themselves ascend the river, at Teredon they discharged their cargoes¹ intended for Vologesia, which was reached either by land on camels, or in vessels of lighter draught by the river; but in what time—the distance was nearly 250 miles—I am unable to ascertain. At Vologesia, however, a two days' journey from their city, the merchants of Palmyra took up the trade. In its market or fair, held always at some little distance from the town itself, they met the Arab or Indian traders, and exchanged with them by sale and purchase the manufactures of the West for the goods and produce of India. By this traffic Palmyra silently but so rapidly grew in wealth and power, that its prince and king, Odenatus, with his own forces and by his energy and generalship, saved the Roman empire, and for his services to the Roman state was raised by Gallienus, A.D. 266, to the title of Augustus.² At his death, its queen, his widow Zenobia, ventured to throw off her allegiance to Rome. For a moment she held the sovereignty of the East,³ but was at length defeated and taken prisoner by Aurelian, who at the same time pillaged and destroyed Palmyra,⁴ A.D. 275, and thus put an end to the Roman trade with India through the Persian Gulf.

The Alexandrian trade with India, unlike the Palmyrene, was

xvii. And though much later in time, Procopius says of Abraham, whom the Homerites elected their king, that he was the slave of a Roman, and lived at Adule as (a ship agent or broker). 'Ο δὲ Ἀβραμὸς οὗτος χριστιανὸς ἦν, δούλος δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρός, ἐν πόλει . . . Ἀδουλίδι ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσον ἐργασίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχοντος.—De Bello Persico, I., 20.

¹ Vide Strabo, xv., III., 5, and Pliny, vi., 22. Very possibly they sailed up to Vologesia itself, for a passage in the Meadows of Gold, of Massoudi, to which Sir Henry Rawlinson called my attention, speaks of ships from India and China, as, in the 5th century of our era, lying at Hira, a little to the S.W. of Babylon, 247, I., Sprenger's tr., and see also Reinaud's Observations, xxxv. vi. pp., with note I., Relations Arabes.

² Vide Pollio, Hist. Gallieni. Hist. Aug. Script., x., xii., 90, 92 pp.

³ Vide Zosimus, Lib. I., 440.

⁴ Vide M. Aurelianus Vopisci, xxxi. Hist. Aug. Script., II., 176.

not broken up by any one great catastrophe. It remained some time stationary; but from the reign of Caracalla it rapidly declined, and when Palmyra was destroyed, it was in so languishing a state, that, in so far at least as it was a trade directed and controlled by Alexandrian merchants, it may almost be said to have died out. Among the circumstances which affected its prosperity, we may reckon:—

I. The privileges accorded to Palmyra by the Emperor Hadrian. The comparatively short sea passage of the Palmyrene route, and the very situation of Palmyra, must have soon drawn to its markets not only such commodities as were intended to supply the wants of the neighbouring districts, but such also as, before they were fitted for consumption, required the manufacturing aid of the great cities of Phœnicia, as *e. g.*, silk, of which the Indian mart was Nelcyndon, and which, if brought over in its raw state or in the thread,¹ was taken to Berytus or Tyre² to be made up into stuffs; or if in stuffs, to Tyre or Sidon to be dyed.³ The Palmyrene route then once opened, must have affected the Alexandrian trade with India, and must so far have counteracted the stimulus given to it, first by Roman protection, and afterwards by the discovery of the monsoons, as to have stayed its further development. But there was ample room for both, and to spare. The Alexandrian people, however, filled with the jealousy and hate usually induced by commercial antagonism, assailed with taunts,

¹ If it was brought in stuffs, was it re-made? Pliny, Philemon Holland's tr. "The Seres kemb from the leaves of their trees the hoary down—'Velleraque, ut foliis depectunt tenuia Seres,' Georgics II., 121—and when it is steeped in water, they card and spin it, yea, and after their manner make thereof a web; whereupon the dames here with us have a double labour both of undoing and also of reweaving again this kind of yarn. See what ado there is about it! What labour and toil it costeth, and how far fet it is, and all that our ladies and wives when they go abroad in the street may cast a lustre from them and shine again, in their silks and velvets."—I., 124 p.

² Ἰματία τα ἐκ μεταξῆς ἐν Βηρυτῷ μὲν καὶ Τυρῷ πόλεις ταῖς ἐπὶ Φοινίκῃς ἐργάζεσθαι ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἰσθῆναι, διὰ τε τούτων ἐμποροὶ τε καὶ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ καὶ τεχνίται ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἀνεκαθὲν ὥκουσιν, ἐνθεν δὲ τε εἰς γῆν ἀπασαν φέρεσθαι τὸ ἐμπολῆμα τοῦτο ζυνεβαίνειν.—Procopius, Hist. Arcana, 25 c., p. 140, and Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv., 9, 7.

³ "Quid lineas Ægypto petitas loquar? Quid Tyro-et Sidone tenuitate perlucidas micantes purpurâ, plumandi difficultate pernobiles."—Vopiscus, Carinus xx., Hist. Aug. Scrip. That the stuffs from Tyre and Sidon were of silk, I gather from the difficultate plumandi.—χιτών ἐκ μεταξῆς ἐγκαλλωπισμασι χρυσοῖς πανταχοθεν ὡραίνμενος, ἃ δὲ νενομηκασὶ πλουμμία καλεῖν.—Procopius de Ædificiis, III., 1., 247 p., and Ammianus Marcell., xiv., 9, 7.

and sneers, and ribald jests those emperors who specially favoured the rival city—Hadrian,¹ who gave it its privileges; and Caracalla and his mother, who were almost native there. Hadrian heard and despised their abuse; Caracalla² treacherously and savagely avenged it; and his massacre of the people and plunder of the foreign merchants was a blow from which Alexandria did not easily recover.

II. The disturbed state of the Roman Empire from the death of Alexander Severus, A.D. 235, to that of Aurelian, A.D. 275. During this dreary period of Roman story, Palmyra almost independent, on a distant frontier, and not subjected to the influences of a turbulent garrison and an ambitious General, went on to the very hour of its fall uninterrupted in its career of prosperity. Under its able chief, from a rich but merely commercial city, it became a powerful State. Alexandria, on the other hand, in the very centre of civil discord, was driven on by its excitable people to take a prominent part in every civil war.³ It itself set up or readily acknowledged as emperor more than one unsuccessful competitor⁴ for the imperial purple. Ever on the losing side, it necessarily suffered much, and was, indeed, once taken and held by the forces of Zenobia, and twice besieged and sacked, and its principal and noblest quarter destroyed, by Roman armies.⁵ Under such circumstances, trade was neglected, and that with India, as carried on from a distant port, so fell away, that it no longer found employment for large fleets of large ships, but was in the hands of a few

¹ Vide note 2, 273 p. *supra*, from the Hist. Aug. Scrp.

² Besides his massacre of the citizens, he compelled all strangers to leave the city, except merchants and *τα ἐκνησιον πάντα διηπρασθη*.—Dio. Cass., 22 c., 77 L. He also took away the Jus Bulentarium conceded to them by Severus.—*id.*, 17 c., 51 L.

³ "Sed Alexandria . . . internis seditionibus diu aspere fatigata, ad ultimum multis post annis Aureliano imperium agente, civilibus jurgiis ad certamina interneciva prolapsis, diutisque mœnibus, amisit regionis maximam partem, quæ Bruchion appellabatur, *diuturnum præstantium hominum domicilium*."—*Aur. Mar.*, xxii., 16, 15.

⁴ As Æmilianus, xxi., Tr. Tyranni Treb. Pollio. Saturninus and Firmus, vid. Flav. Vopis., Hist. Aug. Scrp., 123 p., 228, &c., pp., ii. v.

⁵ Eusebius (Hist. Eccl., vii.) tells of the misery and confusion in Alexandria, A.D. 261, the consequence of sedition and civil war; *ib.* 22, of the plague which afflicted it; and *ib.* 32, of its siege and capture, and the destruction of Bruchium. In the Chron. Canon., under Claudius, A.D. 273, "Alexandriæ suburbium post diutinam obsidionem summo, excidio deletum est."—p. 392 ed. Maius et Zohrab.

rich merchants, as Firmus,¹ who probably derived from it more honour than profit.

III. The weakness of the Roman Empire. It was no longer able to repel the incursions of the barbarians, who everywhere pressed upon its ill-guarded frontiers. And the Blemmyes, a fierce people, whose heads once did grow beneath their shoulders,² so infested the neighbourhood of Berenice, that Firmus—one of the last of the Alexandrian merchants who sent ships to India—no doubt from motives of interest sedulously cultivated their friendship. They seem to have occupied Coptos and Ptolemais, for Probus³ (A.D. 279) is said to have recovered these towns from them. But with Coptos—the town where portage on the route to India either began or ended—in the hands of a savage race, Alexandrian trade with India, if not diverted into some other channel, was impossible; and that for the present it came to a stop the wretched state of Alexandria and Rome leads us to believe; but that in time Indian trade again flowed to Alexandria, though under other conditions, and by other means than of old, I shall endeavour to show in another paper.

¹ Vopiscus dwells on the wealth of Firmus: "De hujus divitiis multa dicuntur, nam et vitreis quadraturis, bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis, domum indurisse perhibetur: et tantum habuisse de chartis, ut publice sæpe diceret, exercitum se alere posse papyro et glutino. Idem et cum Blemymis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis;" and then adds, "*naves quoque ad Indos negotiatorias sæpe misit*: ipse quoque dicitur habuisse duos dentes elephanti pedum denum."—*ib.*, 230, p. II. Vopiscus describes the wealth of Firmus in so far as it was extraordinary, rare, and with this classes his ships to India. After him I cannot anywhere find that ships went from Alexandria to India.

² "Blemmyis capita absunt vultus in pectore est."—Pomp. Mela. I., viii., 60. But Rome was able to form a more correct opinion of them after the triumph of Aurelian in which they figured: "prætor captivos gentium barbarum, Blemyes . . . Indi, Bactriani, Saraceni, Persæ."—Vopiscus, *ib.*, 178, II. The Indi and Bactriani must have been captives from Palmyra.

³ Vopiscus, Probus xvii., *ib.*, 221, II.

ART. XI.—*Verses from the Sarva-darśana-sangraha, the Vishnu Purāṇa, and the Rāmāyaṇa, illustrating the tenets of the Chārvākas, or Indian Materialists, with some Remarks on Freedom of Speculation in Ancient India.*—By J. MUIR, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D.

[Read Saturday, 14th December, 1861.]

IN his essay on the heretical schools of the Hindus, Mr. Colebrooke has given an account of the tenets of the Chārvākas, or Materialists (Misc. Essays, i., 402 ff). Professor Wilson also, in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus" (As. Res., Vol. XVI., pp. 5, 6), alludes to the attacks made by the founder of the atheistical, or materialistic school, Vṛihaspati, on the Vedas and the Brahmans, and quotes some verses attributed to that author, in which he asserts that "the whole Hindu system is a contrivance of the priesthood to secure a means of livelihood for themselves." I am not aware whether either the aphorisms of Vṛihaspati (Vārhaspatya Sūtras), to which Mr. Colebrooke refers (Misc. Ess., i., 404) as having been quoted by one of the commentators on the Vedānta, or the work which contains the verses adduced by Professor Wilson, be still extant or not. As, however, the Sarva Darśana Sangraha¹ of Mādhava Āchāryya (a work containing a concise account of the different philosophical schools of India, both orthodox and heretical), from which Professor Wilson derived the verses which he cites, contains a good many more of a similar tendency, which are both satirical and clever, I shall translate the whole, and compare them with passages of the same tenor which occur in the Vishnu Purāṇa and in the Rāmāyaṇa.

(1.) The passage from the Sarva Darśana Sangraha is as follows:—

"All this has been uttered by Vṛihaspati also:

"1. There is no heaven, no final liberation, no soul [which continues to exist] in another world, nor any ceremonies of castes or orders which are productive of future reward. 2. The Agni-

¹ Published in the Bibliotheca Indica, Nos. 63 and 142.

hotra sacrifice, the three Vedas, the mendicant's triple staff (*tridanda*),¹ and the practice of smearing with ashes, are the means of livelihood ordained by the Creator for men who have neither understanding nor energy. 3. If [it be true that] an animal slaughtered at the Jyotishtoma Sacrifice is [in consequence] exalted to heaven,² why does not the worshipper immolate his own father? 4. If a *śrāddha* (offering of food to the manes)³ satiates even defunct creatures, it is quite superfluous to furnish people who are setting out upon a journey with any provisions [as their friends who remain behind can offer food to them]. 5. Since [as you say] persons in heaven are filled by oblations presented upon earth, why is not food similarly offered [by those below] to people on the roof of the house? 6. While a man does live, let him live merrily,⁴ let him borrow money, and swallow clarified butter: how can a body return to earth after it has once been reduced to ashes? 7. If a man goes to another world when he quits his body, why does not affection for his kindred impel him to come back? 8. Hence ceremonies for the dead are a mere means of livelihood devised by the Brahmans, and nothing else. 9. The three com-

¹ See Professor Wilson's "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," above referred to; and for the words *tridanda* and *tridandin*, consult Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, with the passages there cited from Manu, ix., 296, and xii., 10, 11, and other writers.

² This refers to the notion expressed by Manu, v. 42 : — "The twice-born man, who, knowing the meaning and principles of the Veda, slays cattle on the occasions mentioned, conveys both himself and those cattle to the summit of beatitude." (Sir W. Jones.) In the second act of the drama called *Prabodha chandrodaya* (which has been translated into English by Dr. Taylor, and into German by Professor Goldstücker), *Māyāmoha* (or Delusion), and a *Chārvāka* are introduced among the dramatis personæ, and give utterance to the tenets of the Indian materialists. The second and third of the verses quoted in the text from the *Sarva-darśana-sangraha*, are adduced there also. Verse 4 of the text is varied as follows :— "If a *śrāddha* satiates even defunct creatures, *then oil must nourish the flame of an extinguished lamp.*" The following stanzas are of a similar purport with verse 1 of the text :— "The idea that the soul exists with an essence distinct from that of the body, and that it enjoys rewards after it has gone to another world, is [as vain as] the expectation of luscious fruit from trees growing in the sky." "If heaven is obtained by worshippers, after the performer, the ceremonial, and the materials of the sacrifice have all passed away, then will abundant fruit be produced from trees which have been consumed in the conflagration of a forest." In another verse the gratifications of the voluptuary are contrasted with the mortifications of the ascetic in a sense favourable to the former.

³ See Manu, chap. iii., verses 122 to the end.

⁴ *Dum vivimus, vivamus.* "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."—

1 Cor. xv., 32.

posers of the Veda were buffoons, rogues, and goblins: every one has heard of *jarbharī*, *turpharī*, and such other [nonsensical] exclamations of the Pandits.¹ 10. It is well known that in an *āsvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) the embraces of the horse must be received by the Queen;² and it is in like manner well known what other sorts of things also are to be grasped by those buffoons.³ In the same way the eating of flesh is prescribed by those goblins."

(2.) The ideas in the following verses from the Vishnu Purāṇa are of the same tendency, and in part identical with those just quoted. The passage is considered by Professor Wilson as representing the sentiments of Vṛihaspati's school, and has been already translated by him in his Vishnu Purāṇa (p. 340, f.), but I shall give a version of my own, prefixing to it the original Sanskrit, which has never been printed.

Vishnu Purāṇa, iii, 18. 14. *Anyān apy anya-pāshanda-prakārāir bahubhir dvija | Daiteyān mohayāmāsa Māyāmoho vimoha-krit |* 15. *Svalpenaiva hi kālena māyāmohena te 'surāḥ | Mohitās tatyajuh sarvām trayī-mārgāśrītām kathām |* 16. *Kechid hi nindām vedānām devānām apare dvija | Yajña-karma-kalāpasya tathā 'nye cha dvijan-manām |* 17. *Naitad yuktiṁ-sahaṁ vākyaṁ himsā dharmāya neshyate | havīmshy anala-dagdhāni phalāyetye arbhakoditam |* 18. *Yajñair anekair devatvam avāpy endreṇa bhujyate | samyādi yadi chet kāshtham tad-varam pattra-bhuk paśuh |* 19. *Nihatasya paśor yajñe svarga-prāptir yadishyate | Sva-pitā yajamānena kinnu tasmād na hanyate |* 20. *Triptaye jāyate puṁso bhuktam anyena chet xatah [tatah ?] | dadyāch chhrāddham śraddhayā 'nnaṁ na vaheyuh pravāsinaḥ |* 21. *Jana-śraddheyam ity etad avagamya tato vacchaḥ | upexya śreyase vākyaṁ rochatām yad mayeritam |* 22. *Na hy āpta-vādā nabhaso nipatanti mahāsurāḥ | yaktimad vachanaṁ grāhyam mayā nyaiścha bhavad-vidhaiḥ |* 23. *Māyāmohena te daityāḥ prakārair bahubhis tathā | vyutthāpitā yathā naiśhām trayīmkaśchid arochayat |* 24. *Ittham unmārga-yāteshu [teshu ?] daityeshu te 'marāḥ | udyogam paramam*

¹ Compare "Original Sanskrit Texts," ii., 183, and iii., 45. The words *jarbharī*, *turpharī*, occur in Rig Veda, x., 106, 6. See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under these words, and Nirukta, xiii., 5.

² I give the literal meaning of this line in Latin:—"Fāmā notum est equi membrum genitale a reginā capiendum esse." See Wilson's translation of the Rig Veda, vol. ii., Intro., p. xiii.; Rāmāyana, i., 13, 36 (Schlegel's edit.); i., 13, 34 (Gorresio's edit.); Mahābh., xiv., 2645; Vājasaneyi Saṁhita, xxiii., 20 ff. and commentary; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff.; Kātyayana's Sūtras, p. 973.

³ I do not perceive the exact allusion here, unless it be to the Brahmins' grasping character. Possibly there may be a reference in the next line to the practice of the Śāktas. Goblins are represented by the Hindus as fond of flesh.

*kṛtvā yuddhāya samupasthitāḥ | 25. Tato devāsuraṁ yuddham punar
evābhavad dvija | hatāścha te 'surā devaiḥ sanmārga-paripantkinah |
26. Sa dharmā-kavachas teshāṁ abhūd yah prathamam dvija | tena
raṣā 'bhavat pūrvam neśur naṣṭe cha tatra te |*

After describing how Māyāmoha, the great impersonated Delusion, had seduced the Daityas (who here stand for the heretical Indians in general) into embracing the Jaina and Buddhist doctrines, the writer proceeds: "The great Deceiver, practising illusion, next beguiled other Daityas by means of many other sorts of heresy. In a very short time these Asuras (=Daityas), deluded by the Deceiver, abandoned the entire system founded on the ordinances of the triple Veda. Some reviled the Vedas, others the gods, others the ceremonial of sacrifice, and others the Brahmans. This, [they exclaimed,] is a doctrine which will not bear discussion; the slaughter [of animals in sacrifice] is not conducive to religious merit. [To say that] oblations of butter consumed in the fire produce any future reward, is the assertion of a child. If Indra, after having attained to godhead by numerous sacrifices, feeds upon *śami*, and other woods, then an animal which eats leaves is superior to him. If it be a fact that a beast slain in sacrifice is exalted to heaven, why does not the worshipper slaughter his own father? If a man is really satiated by food which another person eats, then *śrāddhas* should be offered to people who are travelling abroad, and they, trusting to this, should have no need to carry any food along with them.¹ After it has been settled that this doctrine is entitled to credence, let the opinions which I express be pondered and received as conducive to happiness. Infallible utterances do not, great Asuras, fall from the skies: it is only assertions founded on reasoning that are accepted by me, and by other [intelligent] persons like yourselves. Thus, by numerous methods, the Daityas were unsettled by the great Deceiver, so that none of them any longer regarded the triple Veda with favour. When the Daityas had entered on this path of error, the deities mustered all their energies, and approached to battle. Then followed a combat between the gods and the Asuras, and the latter, who had abandoned the right road, were smitten by the former. In previous times they had been defended by the armour of righteousness which they bore, but when that had been destroyed they also perished."

(3.) The following is the passage of the Rāmāyana to which I

¹ The satirical purport of this half-verse has not been correctly understood by Professor Wilson, who renders it thus:—"It must be unnecessary for one who resides at a distance to bring food for presentation in person."

have alluded. It contains the speech of the Brahman Jāvālī, in which he endeavours ineffectually to shake the resolution of Rāma, who was unwilling to deviate from the arrangements made by his late father Daśaratha, and return from the forests of the south to Ayodhyā, to take possession of the throne now offered to him by his dutiful younger brother, Bharata. This passage may be found, translated, in Carey and Marshman's edition of the Rāmāyana, but I have rendered it anew, both according to the text of Schlegel's and of Gorresio's editions, and have placed my own two versions in parallel columns for facility of comparison. I have put in italics the passages which coincide most closely with those from the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha, and Vishnu Purāṇa :

RAMAYANA, AYODHYAKANDA,
Section 108, Ed. Schlegel.

1. Jāvālī, the most excellent of Brahmins, addressed to Rāma, who was thus comforting Bharata, and who was thoroughly versed in duty, the following words, which were contrary to duty.¹ 2. You, descendant of Raghu, who are intelligent and of superior understanding, ought not to entertain such unprofitable notions, as if you were an ordinary person. 3. How can any one person be of kin to any other? what has any one to gain from any other, seeing that every creature is born alone and dies alone?³ 4. Any one,

RAMAYANA, AYODHYAKANDA,
Section 116, Ed. Gorresio.

1, 2. Then Jāvālī, most excellent of Brahmins, the king's logician (*naiyāyika*) versed in all learning, and acquainted with duty, being desired by them all, and seeking to comfort Bharata, addressed to Rāma, who was unwilling to go to the city, these words in consonance with duty :¹ 3. You, descendant of Raghu, ought not, like an ordinary person, to entertain such unprofitable notions, the contemptible ideas of an ascetic.² 12. How can any one person be of kin to any other? what has any one to do with any other?

¹ Schlegel reads here *dharmāpetam*, and Gorresio *dharmopetam*. The former is the best reading.

² Verses 4—11 in Gorresio's edition, urging that Rāma had sufficiently fulfilled his duty to his father, and exhorting him to take possession of the kingdom, have nothing parallel to them in Schlegel's recension.

³ The same reflection, with a different moral annexed, occurs in the very striking verses of Manu, viii., 17, and iv., 239 ff.; which I have attempted to put into verse as follows:—

1. Our virtue is the only friend that follows us in death,
While other ties and friendships end with our departing breath.

therefore, who feels attachment to any persons, as his father and mother, is to be regarded as insane, since no one is anything to any other. 5. Just as in the case of a man who goes into a strange village, and sojourns there, and then quits his abode and proceeds on his journey the following day; 6, so are men's fathers, and mothers, and houses, and property but temporary possessions (*lit.* abodes), on which the good will not suffer their affections to fasten. 7. You, most excellent of men, ought not, by abandoning your paternal kingdom, to enter upon a wrong road, painful, uneven, and beset with troubles. 8. Permit yourself to be enthroned in opulent Ayodhyā; that city eagerly expects you, with her hair fastened in a single braid [in token of mourning]. 9. Enjoying, prince, the exquisite gratifications of royalty, disport yourself there as Indra does in paradise. 10. Daśaratha [his

seeing that every creature is born alone, and dies alone. 13. Hence a mother and a father both resemble a lodging; the man who feels any attachment to them is to be regarded as insane. 14. Just as in the case of a man who goes into any strange village, and sojourns there, and then quits his abode, and proceeds on his journey the following day; 15, so are men's fathers, and mothers, and houses, and property, but temporary possessions (*lit.* abodes); away with all idea of loving them. 16. You ought not, hero, to abandon a level path, free from dust and alarm, and to enter upon a wrong road beset with troubles. 17. Permit yourself to be enthroned in opulent Ayodhyā; that city eagerly expects you, with her hair fastened in a single braid [in token of mourning]. 18. Enjoying, prince, the exquisite gratifications of royalty, disport yourself there as Indra does in paradise. 19. Daśaratha [his father] is now

2. Nor father, mother, wife, nor son, beside us then can stay,
Nor kinsfolk,—virtue is the one companion of our way.
3. Alone each creature sees the light, alone the world he leaves,
Alone, of actions, wrong or right, the recompense receives.
4. Like log or clod, beneath the sod, their lifeless kinsman laid,
His friends depart, with aching heart, but virtue guards the dead.
5. Be then a hoard of virtue stored, to help in day of doom,
By virtue led, we cross the dread, immeasurable gloom.

This passage is imitated, and expanded in the xiiith or Anusāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 5,805—5,815. The words in Manu, iv., 244, *tamas taratī dustaram*, "he crosses the gloom difficult to cross," are probably derived from the Atharva Veda, ix., 5, 1. *Tīrtvā tamāṁsi bahudhā mahānti ajo nākam ākramatām tṛtīyam*: "Having crossed the dark abysses in many directions immense, let the unborn [or, the moving] one ascend the third heaven."

father] is now nothing to you, nor you to him; that king [was] one person and you [are] another; do, therefore, as I advise.

11. A father is nothing more than the seed of a creature; his seminal principle and blood combined with the seminal substance of the mother—such is a man's terrestrial generation.

12. That monarch has gone to the place to which he had to go; such is the course of human beings; but you are being needlessly injured.

13. Therefore I lament¹ [the fate of] such men as adhere to justice, and of no others; for the just suffer affliction here, and when they die they incur annihilation.

14. Men are intent upon oblations to their progenitors and to the gods: but see what a destruction of food! for what can a dead man eat?

15. *If an oblation eaten here by one [really] passes into the body of another, then let a śrāddha be offered to a man who is travelling abroad; he need not eat upon his journey.*

16. These books composed by wise men [containing such precepts as] worship, bestow, offer sacrifice, practise austerities, abandon [the world], are mere charms to draw forth gifts.

17. Understand, intelligent [prince] *that no one exists hereafter*; regard only that which is an object of perception, and cast behind your back whatever

nothing to you, nor you to him; that king [was] one person, and you [are] another; do therefore what I advise.

20. A father is nothing more than the seed of a creature; his seminal principle, with blood and air, combined with the seminal substance of the mother—such is a man's generation of a son.

21. That monarch has gone to the place to which he had to go; such is the course of human beings; but you are being needlessly injured.

22. Wherefore I inquire of such as adhere to justice, and of no others; for the just suffer affliction here, and when they die they incur annihilation.

23. Oblations are offered to progenitors and to the gods; men are intent upon the ceremony, but see what a destruction of food! what is left for the dead?

24. *If an oblation eaten here by one [really] passes into the body of another, then let a śrāddha be offered to a man who is travelling abroad, and let him carry no provisions for his journey.*

25. These books composed by wise men [containing such precepts as] worship, bestow, offer sacrifice, practise austerities, abandon [the world], are merely meant to multiply gifts.

26. Understand, intelligent [prince], *that no one exists hereafter*; regard not that which is beyond the reach of your senses, but only that which is

¹ Compare Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, verse 4205.

is beyond the reach of your senses.¹ 18. Acting upon this principle, which should be the guide of all mankind, allow yourself to be persuaded by Bharata, and accept the kingdom.

an object of perception.¹ 27. Acting upon this principle, which should be the guide of all mankind, allow yourself to be persuaded by Bharata, and accept the kingdom. 28—33. Follow, therefore, wise counsels, and abide in your proper path. Xupa, the illustrious mental son of Brahmā, these (whose names are enumerated in verses 29, ff), and many other excellent monarchs, abandoning their dear sons and wives, 34, Have yielded to the power of time. We know not whither they, nor the Gandharvas, Yaxas, and Rāxasas, 35, may have departed; such a scene of illusion is this world. For it is the names only of these kings which are now heard. 36. Any one imagines them to exist in whatever region he pleases. Thus there is no firm foundation on which this world may abide. 37. *It is this which is the other [or highest] world; enjoy, therefore, happiness; for just men are not qualified for this enjoyment.* 38. Just men, descendant of Kākutstha, are very miserable, while the unjust are seen to be happy. 39. This world, again, is in every way confused and perturbed; do not, therefore, most eminent of men, condemn the fortune which seeks you. 40. Accept this great kingdom, which is free from rivals and

¹ These are the principles of the Chārvākas. "Perception is the only proof," says the Māyāmoha, in the Prabodha-chandroya, Act ii.

enemies. When Rama had heard this discourse, though slow to wrath, he was greatly incensed at being exhorted to atheism.¹

¹ This section of the Rāmāyana, and those which follow it, as given in the three different editions of the Rāmāyana, well illustrate the peculiarities of their different texts. In Schlegel's edition, section 108 concludes with the 18th verse, which is immediately succeeded by the reply of Rāma to Jāvālī's suggestions, in the 29 anushtubh verses, which stand at the commencement of section 109. To these are added nine more verses in a longer metre, the *Upajāti*, which Schlegel regards as spurious. As regards some of the verses his opinion is no doubt just; for Rāma is represented in the first of these additional stanzas as *a second time commencing* his answer to Jāvālī, and the tone in which he then repudiates the sentiments of the latter is much harsher than in the earlier (anushtubh) verses of the section. In the 36th and following verses of the addition, Jāvālī is introduced as apologizing for, and half recanting, the opinions he had expressed:—"The Brahman then addressed to Rāma these true, wholesome, and believing (*āstika*) words:—'I do not utter the doctrines of the nihilists (*nāstikas*): I am not a nihilist; nor does nought exist. Having regard to opportuneness of time, I have again become a believer (*āstika*), and on an opportune occasion I may again become a nihilist.'" In one of these *Upajāti* verses, the Buddhists are expressly mentioned. Gorresio's edition, however, contains much more extensive interpolations than Schlegel's. As we have seen, stanzas 4—11, and 28—39, of section 116 of the former, are all in excess of the verses contained in the corresponding section of the latter. But section 116 of Gorresio's edition does not stop even there. It contains, in verses 40 ff., a short repudiation by Rāma of Jāvālī's doctrines. Another discourse of Bharata's follows in section 117, and it is not till section 118 that Rāma is represented as beginning (a second time) the answer to Jāvālī, which corresponds to that in section 109 of Schlegel's edition.

Carey and Marshman's text generally coincides (as regards the sections under consideration) with Gorresio's, though in some readings it agrees with Schlegel's when that and Gorresio's differ.

I will not here enter on the question, of which I have not studied both sides, as to the comparative antiquity of Schlegel's and Gorresio's texts, but I will adduce from the speech of Vasishtha in the 110th section of Schlegel's edition, as compared with the corresponding section of Gorresio's, what I conceive to be one decided argument in favour of the greater antiquity of the former text. We there read (in Schlegel's edition), "There was then nothing but water, in which the earth was formed. From thence was produced *Brahmā*, the self-existent, together with the deities. He then becoming a boar, raised up the earth, and created the whole world, with his sons, who were perfected in spirit. *Brahmā* was produced from the ether," &c. It is therefore *Brahmā*, who here becomes a boar, and in that form raises up the earth,—an incarnation and an act which are elsewhere, as in the Vishnu Purāna (pp. 27—32 of Wilson's translation), and in the Bhāgavata Purāna, i., 3, 7, and iii., 13, 18 ff., ascribed to Vishnu. To harmonize the account in the Rāmāyana with that in the Purānas (which is to all appearance of later origin), the author of the recension edited by Gorresio changes the words *Brahmā svayambhūr daivatais saha*, "*Brahmā*, the self-existent, with the gods," into *Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur arjayaḥ*, "*Brahmā*,

As the doctrines, which in these verses are put into the mouth of the Brahman Jāvālī agree essentially in their tenor with those ascribed to the Chārvākas in the verses I have quoted from the *Sarva-darśana-sangraha*, it would appear (if the section be genuine) that those Materialists must be as old as the composition of the *Rāmāyana*, to whatever era that may be referred. And that a sect bearing that appellation must have existed at the time when the *Mahābhārata* received its present form appears highly probable from the contents of the following passage from the *Sāntiparva*, or xiith Book, verses 1,414, ff., in which a story is told about a Rāxasa or demon of that name, who was a contemner of the Brahmins, and who, there can be little doubt, is meant to stand for a hostile sectary.

After Yudhishtira had entered the city, and had bestowed largesses on the Brahmins, &c., the following scene is described as having taken place :

“When the Brahmins were now again standing silent, Chārvāka, the Rāxasa, in the disguise of a Brahman, addressed the King. This friend of Duryodhana, concealed under the garb of a mendicant, with a rosary, a lock of hair on his crown, and a triple staff, impudent and fearless, surrounded by all the Brahmins, exceeding a thousand in number, who were anxious to utter their benedictions,—men who practised austerity and self-restraint,—this wretch, wishing evil to the magnanimous Pāṇavas, without saluting those Brahmins, thus addressed the King: ‘All these Brahmins, falsely imputing the malediction to me, themselves exclaim, Woe to you, wicked king, the slayer of your kindred. What can be the issue of this, son of Kunti? Since you have slaughtered your kinsmen and elders, death is desirable for you, and not life.’ Hearing this speech of the wicked Rāxasa, the Brahmins were pained and indignant, being maligned by his words. But they all, as well as King Yudhishtira, remained silent, being ashamed, and cut to the heart. Then Yudhishtira said: ‘Let all your reverences be reconciled to me who bow down and supplicate you: you ought not to curse me who have recently [?] undergone so great mis-

the self-existent, *imperishable Vishnu*,” and in a subsequent line substitutes the words *sacharācharam avyayam*, for *saha putrair kritātmabhiḥ*, i.e., “he created the whole *imperishable* world, *moveable* and *immoveable*,” instead of “he created the whole world, *with his sons*,” &c. This last alteration was rendered necessary by the fact that sons are ascribed by mythological tradition to Brahmā, but none to Vishnu. When, therefore, the name of Vishnu was introduced, it became necessary to strike out all reference to sons. These alterations are not found in Carey and Marshman’s edition, which here agrees with Schlegel’s.

fortunes.' All the Brahmans then exclaimed: 'We never uttered the words imputed to us: may your Majesty enjoy prosperity.' Then these noble-minded Brahmans, versed in the Vedas, and purified by austerities, recognised [the pretended mendicant] by the eye of knowledge, and exclaimed: 'This is the Rāxasa called Chārvāka, the friend of Duryodhana; in the garb of a vagrant he seeks to accomplish the purposes of your enemy; we say not so, righteous King; let all such fears be dissipated; may prosperity attend you and your brothers.' Then all these pure Brahmans infuriate with anger, uttering menaces, slew, with muttered imprecations, the wicked Rāxasa, who fell down, consumed by the might of the utterers of Vedic incantations, burnt up by the bolt of Indra, like a tree covered with leaves."

Krishṇa then, in the following verses (1,430—1,442), explains to Yudhishtira that formerly in the Kṛita age this Rāxasa, Chārvāka, had for many years practised austerities at Badari; and that having in consequence received from Brahmā his choice of a boon, he had selected that of being perfectly secure against the hostility of all creatures. This boon was granted with the sole condition that he should abstain from showing any disrespect to Brahmans (*dvijāva-mānād anyatra*). Having obtained this prerogative of immunity from attack, he began to oppress the gods. The latter applied to Brahmā, who told them that he had decreed that the Rāxasa's death should shortly be brought about through his friendship with Duryodhana, which would lead him to treat the Brahmans contumeliously, when they would consume him, as the King had seen; and that Yudhishtira was not to feel any remorse for the slaughter of his kindred, since this carnage had taken place in the exercise of his functions as a Xatriya, and the victims of it had gone to heaven.

Chārvāka is again briefly mentioned in the "Lament of Duryodhana," ixth, or Śalya Parva, 3,619: when that prince had received his death-wound, his thighs having been fractured by the blow of Bhimasena's club: "If Chārvāka, the wandering ascetic, skilful in discourse, learns [that I have been mortally wounded], he will certainly perform an expiation¹ for me in the holy [lake] Samanta-panchaka, renowned in the three worlds."

I am not aware how far back the sect of the Chārvākas can be traced in Indian literature. *Nāstikas* (nihilists), *Pāshandis* (heretics), and revilers of the Vedas are mentioned in many parts of Manu's

¹ The word which I have translated expiation is *apachita* (*apachiti*?). The word *apachiti* occurs in the viith, or Drona Parva, 7,811.

Institutes, ii., 11; iii., 150, 161; iv., 30, 61, 163; v., 89; viii., 22, 309; ix., 225; xi., 65, 66; xii., 33; 95, 96. I quote two of these passages as specimens: ii., 11: "Whatever Brahman, addicting himself to rationalistic writings¹ (*hetu-śāstra*), shall despise these two sources [of knowledge, the *śruti* and the *smṛiti*], is to be cast out by good men as a nihilist, and reviler of the Veda." xii., 95, 96: "All religious systems (*smṛitis*) which stand apart from the Vedas, and all heretical opinions whatever, are unprofitable in the next world, for they are founded on darkness. Whatever books, separate from the Vedas, spring up and disappear, are worthless and false, from their recentness of date." Such heretics appear to have been numerous at the period when these Institutes were compiled, as the faithful are warned (iv., 61) against living in a village "over-run with heretics;" a kingdom "in which Sūdras predominate, overrun with nihilists, and destitute of Brahmans," is said (viii., 22) to be doomed to destruction; a king who is a nihilist is threatened with perdition (viii., 309); and it is enjoined (ix., 225) that heretics shall be banished. Nihilism is, however, only pronounced (xi. 66) to be an *upapātaka*, or sin of lesser heinousness. Allusion is said to be made in v., 89, 90, and viii., 363, to female anchorets of an heretical religion.

The anti-brahmanical opinions here referred to are, however, most probably those of the Buddhists, though possibly some other sects may be included.

It is evident from some of the hymns of the Veda (see Müller's Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 556 ff.) that theological speculation has been practised in India from a very early period. In fact, the whole of these hymns, even those of them which are most artless, poetical, and anthropomorphic in their character, may, in a limited sense, be regarded as speculative; since the religious ideas which they express, being founded on no external revelation, must have owed their existence not only to the religious emotions and imagination of their authors, but also to a certain exercise of reflection, which assigned particular attributes and functions to the different deities, and proceeded on a certain theory of the relations of the Godhead to the universe. As, therefore, the religions or mytho-

¹ Though reasoning is looked upon by Manu (ii. 11.) and other orthodox writings (e.g., Mahābhārata, iii. 13,463, *śushka tarka*), with great jealousy, as likely to be employed against the Vedas, its aid is also invoked as necessary for their defence and exposition (Manu, xii. 105), and professors of different systems of logic or speculation (*haituka* and *tarkin*) are referred to (xii. 111) as essential component members of a Brahmanical conclave of ten (*daśāvārā parishat*).

logical systems of India became developed, it was to be expected that they should exhibit numerous variations springing out of the particular genius of different writers; and more especially that, whenever the speculative element predominated in any author, he should give utterance to ideas on the origin of the world, and the nature and action of the Deity or deities, more or less opposed to those commonly received. In the stage here supposed, a fixed and authoritative system of belief or institutions had not yet been constructed, but was only in process of construction, and therefore considerable liberty of individual thought, expression, and action would be allowed; as is, indeed, also shown by the existence of different schools of Brahmins, not merely attached to one or other of the particular Vedas, but even restricting their allegiance to some particular recension of one of the Vedas. Even after the Brahmanical system had been more firmly established, and its details more minutely prescribed, it is clear that the same strictness was not extended to speculation, but that if a Brahmin was only an observer of the established ceremonial, and an assertor of the privileges of his own order, he might entertain and even profess almost any philosophical opinion which he pleased (Colebrooke, *Misc. Ess.*, i., 379; Müller, *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* 79). In this way the tradition of free thought was preserved, and speculative principles of every character continued to be maintained and taught without hindrance or scandal. Meanwhile the authority of the Vedas had come to be generally regarded as paramount and divine, but so long as this authority was nominally acknowledged, independent thinkers were permitted to propound a variety of speculative principles, at variance with their general tenor, though perhaps not inconsistent with some isolated portions of their contents. It was only when the authority of the sacred books was not merely tacitly set aside or undermined, but openly discarded and denied, and the institutions founded on them were abandoned and assailed by the Buddhists, that the orthodox party took the alarm.

Accordingly traces of a sceptical spirit are not wanting in the different parts of Indian literature.

In the *Rig Veda*, viii., 89, 3, 4, reference is made to some free-thinkers who had doubted the existence of Indra. (See *Original Sanskrit Texts*, iii., 151.)

In the *Nirukta* Yāska refers to an older author, named Kautsa, who had spoken of the hymns of the *Veda* as being often unmeaning or contradictory (*Original Sansk. Texts*. ii. 180 ff.).

Śākya Muni, the founder of Buddhism, who is generally considered to have flourished in the sixth century B.C., and, as is well known, rejected the authority of the Vedas, and promulgated a system of doctrine and practice at variance with their contents, most probably derived many of his tenets from other speculators who had preceded him. Burnouf (who is followed by Lassen, Müller, and others) is of opinion that Śākya merely carried on a work which had been previously commenced by Kapila and Patanjali, and proceeded upon the atheistical principles furnished to him by the former of these philosophers.—(Bouddhisme Indien, pp. 211 ; 520.) This may be true, and may be susceptible of proof from a comparison of the principles of these two systems, and an examination of their mutual relations. In the meantime, however, it is worthy of remark that the Sāṅkhya Sūtras, i. 27—47, adduce and refute certain tenets which are those of the Buddhist schools. The opinions in question are, (1) the momentary duration of external objects, which succeed each other in a perpetual flux (Sūtras, 34, 35) ; (2) that things exist only in perception, and have no objective reality (Sūtra, 42) ;¹ (3) that there is nothing but a void (*śūnya*). All these doctrines are those of the Buddhist schools (as described in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay on the Heretical Sects). The first doctrine is mentioned in p. 397 of that Essay, as Buddhist ; while the second is that of the Yogāchāras, and the third that of the Mādhyamikas, who are both Bauddha sects, *ibid.* p. 391. (See also p. 380, where Mr. Colebrooke alludes to the Buddhists being noticed in the Sāṅkhya.) If, therefore, the Sāṅkhya Sūtras are to be regarded as the original form in which that system was propounded by its author, and if they have remained free from interpolation, the Sāṅkhya must be later than Buddhism. It appears, however, to be *primā facie* very improbable that the Sūtras of the different philosophical schools (whatever may be the age to which the earliest nucleus of each may be referred) should have remained unaltered from the date of their first composition ; and the mutual references which are to be found in the Brahma and the Sāṅkhya Sūtras, to each other's doctrines, totally preclude such a supposition. The Sūtras must, therefore, either have received interpolations at some period subsequent to their first compilation, or they must be regarded as nothing more than later summaries of doctrines which

¹ See Professor Banerjea's Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, where Śankara's refutation of this doctrine, the *Vijñāna-vāda*, is quoted from his commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, ii., 2, 28.

had been handed down, either orally or in writing, from an earlier period.

Mr. Colebrooke, with his usual caution, does not determine whether or not the Buddhist doctrines are derived from those of Kapila, but merely notices the "strong resemblance" which the latter "manifestly bear to the opinions of the sects of Jina and Buddha" (Misc. Ess. i., 228). In another place (i., 378), he says no more than that the last-named sects "exhibit some analogy to the Sāṅkhyas."

But it is not the systems of Buddha and of Kapila alone which are atheistic in their principles. Three of the other Darśanas, reputed more or less orthodox, or subdivisions of them, are known, or suspected, not without some appearance of reason, to have once professed the same opinions, or to profess them still.

In his Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, which have lately appeared, Professor K. M. Banerjea states his opinion (pp. 141, ff) that the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems were originally atheistic, though their modern adherents have adopted a theistic creed.¹

The wide prevalence of atheistic sentiments in the middle ages of Indian history (i.e., in the centuries subsequent to the commencement of the Christian era) is, however, yet more distinctly shown by the remarkable fact that tenets of this description had, as the orthodox Kumārila himself confesses, in one of the introductory verses of his Vārttika,² become in his day quite general among the adherents of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā School, who thus strangely combined the two characteristics regarded by Manu and the Vishnu Purāṇa as incompatible, namely, that recognition of the authority of the Veda, and strict observance of Vedic ceremonies, which these works so strongly enjoin, with the nihilism, atheism, or materialism (*nāstikya*), which they so strenuously denounce. If we are to understand from the term *Lokāyata*, applied by Kumārila to the hostile section of the Mīmāṃsakas, that they had abandoned the belief in a future life as well as in a God (as we, no doubt, should understand, and as I have been assured by Pandit Nehemiah Goreh, an intelligent and well-informed convert from Brahmanism to Christianity), then they have only practised their Vedic ceremonies

¹ See also "Original Sanskrit Texts," Part iii., p. 216.

² He there says, "For the Mīmāṃsā has generally been turned into a school of materialism (or atheism, *lokāyatikṛita*), but I have made this attempt to bring it into the paths of theism (or the recognition of a future existence, *āstika-pathe*). See Orig. Sansk. Texts, iii., p. 209. Comp. Professor Banerjea's Dialogues, pp. 78 ff., 477 ff.

either for the sake of the prosperity and happiness which they conceived them to procure in the present life, or on account of the gains, and the respectability, connected with their performance. In this case it is a singular fact that the votaries of the Vedic rites should have adopted the speculative opinions of those very materialists by whom these ceremonies and their performers have been so keenly ridiculed and denounced.

P.S. Since the preceding paper was delivered to the Royal Asiatic Society, I have learned, by a letter from Dr. FitzEdward Hall, that he has made long, but fruitless search in India, for the aphorisms of Vrihaspati, alluded to in p. 299.

ART. XII.—*Notes on the production of Tea in Assam, and in India generally.*—By J. C. MARSHMAN, Esq.

[*Read Saturday, 18th January, 1862.*]

THE subject of the cultivation of tea in Assam was first brought under the notice of the Committee of Trade and Agriculture of this Society on the 10th November, 1838, when "An Account of the Manufacture of Black Tea as practised in Upper Assam by the Chinamen sent thither for that purpose," which had been drawn up by Mr. W. Bruce, the Superintendent of the Tea Culture, on the part of the Indian Government, was presented by the Secretary of the East India Company.

At a subsequent meeting, held on the 15th December, a specimen of the "Tea grown and prepared in the British possessions in Upper Assam," was presented by the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

On that occasion, Dr. Royle said he thought it of very good quality, and a highly favourable specimen of what was likely to be a still more successful culture. He stated that from the tea plant being distributed over 20 degrees of latitude in a country of extreme climates—that is, where the cold of winter and the heat of summer were both excessive in degree—there could be no doubt of its growth in various parts of the Himalaya, where every diversity of climate was to be found. He said that Upper Assam was totally unknown when he wrote his essay, and, though perceiving the eligibility of making the experiments in Nepal, he had only pointed out such places in Kemaon, Gurwāl, and Sirmore.

It will be interesting therefore to resume the consideration of the subject, and to trace the progress which has been made in the last twenty years in the cultivation of tea, not only in Upper Assam, but also in other districts in the Presidency of Bengal, the north-west provinces, and the Punjab.

The Government of India led the way in this experiment; twenty-five years ago Mr. Bruce was appointed the official

superintendent of the experimental gardens which were established in Assam, and seed and artificers were imported from China. But Government announced at the same time that they were prepared to hand over the undertaking and the establishments to any association which appeared to be in a position to carry out the experiment with vigour.

In the year 1839, the Assam Company was formed in London, with a branch in Calcutta, for the purpose of prosecuting the cultivation of tea in Assam, with a nominal capital of £500,000, of which only £200,000 was called up; and the Government nurseries, with all the apparatus, were transferred over to them. But unfortunately the whole of the subscribed capital was in a short time absorbed and extinguished in the costly experiments which were made, and the Company were reduced to the necessity of borrowing £7,000 from their bankers. Not only were their operations crippled for want of resources, but the undertaking was on the verge of extinction, when it was happily rescued from insolvency, and enabled, simply on the strength of this small borrowed capital, to creep up gradually to its present height of prosperity, when the local assets exceed in value the capital which was sunk, and a dividend of 12 per cent. delights the shareholders. This happy result is due in no small degree to the exertions of the superintendent in India, M. de Mornay.

The progressive improvement of the prospects of the Company will be seen from the following statement:

The gross proceeds of Assam Tea sold in London and Calcutta in—

	£		£
1847 amounted to	11,300	1854 amounted to	47,200
1848 " "	15,200	1855 " "	55,000
1849 " "	19,500	1856 " "	71,000
1850 " "	21,200	1857 " "	66,200
1851 " "	25,100	1858 " "	80,700
1852 " "	30,000	1859 " "	76,800
1853 " "	39,000	1860 not yet ascertained.	

The nurseries in Assam were originally stocked with seed from China, but it has been found more advantageous to confine the cultivation to the indigenous plant of the province. All the tea therefore which is sent from Assam to London is the produce of the shrubs which were found growing wild in the country, though they have been not a little improved by care in the cultivation.

The young plants are reared in nurseries, and when sufficiently

mature, are transplanted to the fields and planted about six feet apart. It is simply necessary that the soil should be well hoed and kept completely free from weeds, and that the shrubs should be trimmed, to counteract the injurious tendency to shoot upwards.

They begin to yield in the third year, and attain the maximum of produce in the seventh, after which there has been as yet no diminution in the quantity or quality of the return.

At the commencement of their operations the Company prepared a quantity of green tea, but the experiment was speedily abandoned, and their operations have been limited to the production of black tea, of which there are six varieties :

1. Flowery Pekoe.
2. Orange Pekoe.
3. Pekoe.
4. Souchong—1st and 2nd Class.
5. Congou—1st and 2nd Class.
6. Bohea, and Dust.

All these varieties are gathered from one and the same plant. The finest and most delicate leaves yield the Flowery Pekoe, the largest and coarsest the Bohea, while the other descriptions consist of intermediate qualities. All the leaves of every kind are culled at once, and thrown promiscuously into a heap for two or three days, which promotes a gentle fermentation. They are then dried in cast-iron pans over a charcoal fire. The leaves gathered at the out-stations are subjected to the same process, and then transmitted to Nuzeera, the head-quarters of the Company. There they are sorted by means of sieves of different degrees of fineness.

The leaf which passes through a sieve with the smallest interstices is the first quality, or the Flowery Pekoe, and the denomination of the tea is determined by the number of the sieve through which the dried leaves will pass.

One of the greatest improvements which has been made latterly, is the invention of machinery, by M. de Mornay, the general superintendent, which enables the manipulator to pass the leaves more expeditiously through the sieves, and thus economizes labour. After the leaves have thus been sorted, they are again fired and packed in chests containing, according to quality, from 70lbs. to 100 lbs.

The Assam Tea bears a somewhat higher price in the London market than that of China, that is to say, from 3*d.* to 6*d.* per pound.

The following is the rate, at which each quality is insured in bond, and which gives the best idea of its relative value:—

				s.	d.
Flowery Pekoe	..	..	..	4	6
Second quality Pekoe	..	..	..	2	6
Souchong	..	..	..	2	3
Congou	..	..	..	1	6
Bohea	..	..	..	1	3

The Assam Company, in addition to their factories in Assam, have established tea gardens in Cachar, in the north-east corner of Bengal. In the former locality, which they have occupied for upwards of twenty years, the quantity of land under cultivation is about 4,000 acres. The gross value of the tea raised in the last year, of which the accounts have been made up, was £76,800, which gives a little less than £20 as the produce of a single acre of land, which heretofore was waste and valueless.

In the more recent experiment in Cachar, the quantity of land placed in cultivation is estimated at about 900 acres, but the plantation is as yet young.

The land available for tea cultivation in the region where it has been prosecuted by the enterprise of the Assam Company is of such vast extent that these operations are susceptible of any degree of expansion.

The land is leased to them by Government at little more than a peppercorn rent, which varies from fourpence halfpenny to nine pence an acre. The sum paid annually for the land cannot therefore be said to have any influence on the cost of the tea. Still, the assurance of obtaining the absolute proprietorship of the tea estates, free from any possible contingency, is calculated to increase the confidence of the public. The Company will, doubtless, therefore take advantage of the regulations proposed by Lord Stanley, and at length adopted by the present Government, redeem the tax on the land they now lease, and purchase outright whatever lands they may hereafter require.

The great obstacle to the enlargement of the Company's operations is the deficiency of labour.

According to the last statement received from Assam, it would appear that the total number of labourers employed by the Company in their establishments in Upper Assam is 5,200. Of these, 1,965 are natives of Cachar, and perhaps 800 from other districts, and scarcely one half the number is from Assam proper. In that

country, as in Aracan and Pegu, the crying want is that of labour. Though it has been generally supposed that Bengal is a pauper warren, yet it is found to be a point of extreme difficulty to induce the native to take his labour to this adjoining province, where it would find a higher remuneration. Yet, strange to say, the men who cannot be persuaded to remove to Assam, are readily embarking for the Mauritius, the West Indies, and even the French colonies, under the stimulus of the energetic system established by the Government of India. With an adequate supply of coolies the productive power of the province would be indefinitely increased.

Encouraged by the success of the Assam Company, various other bodies have been formed for the cultivation of tea in Assam and other localities.

In 1859, there were in all 68 tea factories in Assam, and the total area under cultivation was 7,600 acres. At the end of 1860, it is reported that there were 110 factories, and that the quantity of land either actually in cultivation, or prepared for it, was 21,000 acres.

The entire crop of the past year was estimated at 1,700,000 lbs., and as the quantity which the Assam Company expected to raise was 1,000,000, we have 700,000 lbs. as the produce of the other Companies who have embarked in the enterprise.

In Cachar, a hilly district on the north-eastern border of Bengal, with a very spare population of highlanders, the total amount of the Government revenue, five years ago, was £5,000. There are now 80 English settlers in the district, who are said to expend not less than £60,000, and the public revenue has increased to £20,000. It contains 53 tea plantations, with about 6,000 acres under culture; but as these enterprises are yet in their infancy, the crop of the past year is not estimated at more than 200,000 lbs.

At the sanitarium of Darjeling, and in its neighbourhood, efforts have been made by the Europeans settled there to introduce the cultivation of tea, and, as far as can be ascertained, about 3,000 acres have been planted out, yielding about 62,000 lbs.

For the last twenty years the hills in the north of India have been the scene of very energetic efforts on the part of Government to extend the cultivation of tea. When the subject was first brought under the notice of the Committee of Trade and Agriculture of this Society, that locality was considered by its members as far more favourable for the cultivation than Assam, and the most sanguine expectations of early success were entertained.

Those expectations, however, have not as yet been realized. While the produce of Assam has been augmented twentyfold, the northern nurseries have been stationary. It is said that the difficulties in the way of cultivation are chiefly those connected with the acquisition of land, which even the Fee-simple Resolution of Government does not remove. But the great advantage possessed by Assam, Cachar, and the region to the east of Bengal, over the localities in the remote north, consists in the cheapness and facility of conveyance to the port of Calcutta.

During the past year, 2,000 maunds, of 80 lbs., of tea seed have been distributed from the Government nurseries at and about Saharunpore at the rate of 20 rupees a maund. There are, moreover, now in Kumaon 16 plantations, 25 in Dehra, and 18 in Kangra, besides three companies recently established.

The result of this inquiry regarding the progress of tea cultivation in India therefore stands thus:—In 1840, a few pounds of tea raised in Assam were introduced into England, and considered as great a rarity as the tea sold by Garraway, in 1657, in the coffee-house which still bears his name in Change-alley, when he gave notice that, “to the end that all persons of eminence and quality, gentlemen, and others, who have occasion for tea in leaf may be supplied, the said Thomas Garraway hath tea to sell from 16s. to 50s. the pound.” In 1839, the first parcel of tea from Assam sold from 16s. to 32s. the pound in London. In the course of the last twenty years, 250 tea plantations have been established in the Bengal Presidency, the produce of which in the past year was equal to 2,000,000 of pounds, of the value of about £200,000. The facilities for cultivating it, except in the article of labour, are indefinite. The cultivation is spreading with a rapidity of which there is no former example in India; and wherever the operations are conducted with judgment and economy, upon the basis of experience, the returns are so considerable as to afford the strongest encouragement to the embarkation of capital in the undertaking.

ART. XIII.—*On the Vedic Conception of the Earth.*¹—*Atharva Veda*, xii, 1.²—By CHARLES BRUCE, Esq.

[Read Saturday, 8th March, 1862.]

THE following paper contains a translation of a Hymn to the Earth, from the Atharva-Veda, followed by some remarks on the structure of the original composition, which the translator conceives to be made up of verses (in different metres) drawn from different quarters and thrown together by the compiler. The translator then proceeds to explain the conception of the earth which the hymn exhibits, and to compare therewith some representations of ancient Greek writers on the same subject.

Om!

1. Truth which is mighty, righteousness which is strong, consecration and dedication to holiness, prayer and sacrifice, sustain the World; may the World, the mistress of the past and future, give us free room;

2. Unmolested among³ the sons of man; may the World, which hath ascent and descent and much plain country, which beareth herbs having every one its virtue, increase for us and prosper for us.

3. May the Earth, on which is the sea, likewise the Great River [Sindhu], and the waters, on which are corn and fruitful fields, on which all that hath life and breath is quickened, make us chief among them that are well satisfied.

4. May the World with its four corners, on which are corn and fruitful fields, may the Earth, which beareth everywhere breathing and living things, place us in possession of cattle which shall not dry.

¹ The writer of the following article desires to acknowledge the generous assistance which he has received in its preparation, particularly in the translation of the Vedic Hymn, from Professor Roth, of Tübingen, and takes this opportunity of returning his warmest thanks to that learned and amiable man.

² *Atharva Veda Sanhitā*. Herausgegeben von R. Roth und D. D. Whitney.

³ The reading *madhyatas* is here suggested in place of *badhyatas*.

5. May the World, upon which the first-born of old conflicted,¹ upon which the gods overcame the demons,—may the World, the home of cattle, of horses, of birds, grant us enjoyment and honour.

6. May Earth, the place of habitation, which containeth all things, which holdeth all treasure, which suffereth every creature that hath life to repose on her golden breast,—may Earth, which holdeth fire whose presence is in all men,² whose lord is Indra, grant us the object of our desire.

7. May the Earth and World, which the gods, that never slumber, guard without ceasing, yield us sweet and pleasant things as it were milk; may they shower down honour upon us.

8. May the World, which in the beginning was a floating mass upon the moving water, which the Wise Ones sought after with cunning devices [whose heart is in the highest heaven—immortal—girt about with truth]—may the Earth and World give us energy and strength in high places.

9. May the Earth, on which the waters, going round about continually,³ flow night and day and fail not,—may the Earth give us milk [in a thousand streams] and shower down honour upon us.

10. May Earth, which the Aswins meted out, on which Vishnu hath stepped, which plenipotent Indra hath rid of all his enemies,—may Earth pour out her milk—mother Earth to me her son.

11. May thy hills and thy snow-clad mountains—may thy waste and woodland, O World, be pleasant; [unwearied, unhurt] unscathed may I dwell on the World—on the Earth and World, which are tawny, dark, ruddy, of divers colours, firmly established, protected by Indra.

12. About the middle of thee, O World, about thy navel, where the virtue of thee lieth, even there do thou establish us—do thou purify us; the Earth is our mother, I am the son of the Earth; Parjanya is our father, may he further us.

13. On the Earth do ministrant men enclose the consecrated ground, there do they lay out the sacrifice; there are the sacrificial pillars erected—the upright, shining pillars before the offering; may the glad Earth yield us fruits of gladness.

¹ See v. 43.

² *Agni* here as elsewhere comprehends both the divinity and the material representnt.

³ The uniform distribution of the waters is here considered, by which they neither fall short of, nor exceed their mark and bound. See *Rig-Veda*, v. 85, 6.

14. Him who hateth us, O World, who plagueth us, who provoketh us by thought or action¹—him, O Earth, do thou prevent, and give him over into our hands.

15. Mortals that are born of thee do go upon thee, thou bearest two-footed things and four-footed; thine are those five races of men, upon whom the Sun at his rising doth shed immortal glory with his rays.

16. May these all render tribute unto us; and thou, O Earth, do thou give me sweetness of speech.

17. The Earth is the mother of herbs, of whom all things are born; the Earth and World are sure, and established on a firm foundation, glad and pleasant; may we walk thereon for ever.

18. Great is the place of thee, thou hast become great, great is the force of thee, the trembling and the quaking; may great Indra watch over thee and relax not; thou, O Earth, make us to shine like gold; may no one hate us.

19. Agni is in the Earth, in herbs; the waters contain Agni; Agni is in the flint rock; Agni is in men; in cattle and in horses are many Agnis.

20. Agni shineth forth from heaven; the wide firmament is the place of the god Agni; men kindle Agni;—the bearer of the sacrifice, who loveth fat things.

21. May the World, whose garments are of flame, whose knees are dark,² make me vigorous and active.

22. On the Earth men present to the gods the sacrifice, the prepared oblation; on the Earth mortal men are satisfied with food; may the Earth give me breath and life, may the World make me to be full of years.

23. With the odour which is produced of thee, O World, which herbs, which the waters contain, which the Gandharvas and Apsaras delight in,—with that do thou make me fragrant; may no one hate us.

24. With the odour of thee which has penetrated the firmament,—the odour which of old the immortals gathered and brought to the

¹ *Vadhena*, lit. weapon.

² *Pūrvakṛtvārī*, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. The translation is here rendered in accordance with the reading, suggested by Professor Roth, *pūrvakṛtvārī* (the accent thus analogously with *pūrvagātvan*).

³ The figure is rather obscurely expressed; the comparison seems to be to a swarthy person, in a mantle of bright colour (i.e. the sunlight), which only discovers from the knees downwards.

marriage-feast of *Surya*—with that do thou make me fragrant—may no one hate us.

25. With the odour of thee which exists in humanity—loveliness and beauty in men and women—in the horse and in the elephant—which is the glory of the maiden—fill us, too, with that; may no one hate us.

26. The Earth is formed of rock, and flint, and dust; the Earth is firmly wrought together and established; to the World whose breast is of gold let me do honour.

27. Where the timber trees stand fast for evermore, even to the World which upholdeth all things, which is surely founded, let us render praise.

28. Rising up and sitting down—standing still and going forward—may we never stagger upon the Earth with the right foot or with the left.

29. I praise the World which is continually renewed, the patient Earth which rejoices in our prayer; may we dwell about thee, O Earth, thou that bearest refreshment and nurture, store of food and fat things.

30. May clean waters flow for our body; that which defileth us do we throw off upon him that is not lovely;¹ I wash me thoroughly and am clean.

31. All thy corners, O Earth, to the east and to the north, to the south and to the west, may they become pleasant for me as I go; may I not fall as I walk upon the Earth.

32. Thrust us not away from behind, nor from before,—not from above nor from below; bless us, O Earth, may no robber come upon us; do thou keep far from us the destroying weapon.²

33. All the range of thee, O Earth, which I look over by the help of the Sun—may the sight of my eye lose none of it, till the latest years which are to come.

34. What though, as I lie, I turn on my right side or on my left,—what though we lie us down with our backs against thee,—do not thou, therefore, harm us, O Earth, thou cradle of all.

¹ *Savitar* had given his daughter *Suryā* in marriage to *Soma*; for the legend, which is often alluded to, see *Rig-Veda*, 10, 85, 9, and 99. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 7.

² The text reads *sandhṛtā*, perhaps *sambhṛtā*.

³ That this very unpleasant habit prevailed is unfortunately confirmed in other places.

⁴ Or the murderer.

